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LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

IN

NORTH CAROLINA

1900-1905

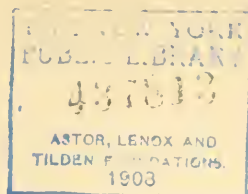
PUBLICATIONS
OF
THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION

VOL. I

RALEIGH

E. M. UZZELL & Co., STATE PRINTERS AND BINDERS

1907



HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

W. J. PEELE, CHAIRMAN,

THOMAS W. BLOUNT,

R. D. W. CONNOR, SECRETARY,

J. BRYAN GRIMES,

C. L. RAPER.

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INTRODUCTION.

That the literary life of the State is growing is proved not less by the increasing number of books written by authors who dwell among us than by the organized activities of the clubs and associations which are founded for the study and preservation of our State history. The possibilities for good readily suggest themselves to the thoughtful. Suppose only a dozen students consider any topic together; the aggregate knowledge of all soon becomes the property of each; and the errors and misconceptions of each are subjected to the light which all together can give. The result is that knowledge of ourselves is at once widened and made more accurate. These associated efforts have a similar advantage in dissemination. One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the interest which our literary men and women are taking in the common schools, and the interest that the common schools are taking in matters that relate to our State history and literature. The best of the things, new and old, which are brought to light are now being utilized for their benefit.

There is a change in the character of the work which is being done by our authors. Instead of being all too ready to spread their work over a century or more, they now usually confine themselves to a topic, a person, or a short period, and, in this way, instead of rehashing what is already familiar, they make permanent additions to the common stock. Intensive history and literature is as much a *desideratum* as intensive farming.

The time is near at hand when a good book written to inform us about ourselves will pay a reasonable profit to its author and publisher. A pure, healthy, home literature is the nursing mother of civic virtue. As some one has well said, God "spake" before he created. The "word," the plan, the logic (*logos*) of His work preceded the work itself. So we, His creatures, must think, must plan, must brood over

void and formless things and dead facts until they live in organic unity and beauty.

The State of North Carolina, too, is the foster-mother of the best of these enterprises for developing original sources of our history. It has provided for the publication of the Colonial and State Records, and the State Regimental Histories; its last act is to provide for a Historical Commission to gather up and preserve, in a permanent form, the fragments which are not already published or else not published in available form. This supplemental work the Commission is undertaking to do, and it has been thought appropriate to begin by taking a census of the present literary activities in North Carolina as a means of encouragement to those who have produced them, as a standard of comparison for future progress, and for the utility of the publication itself.

The immediate task of selecting and arranging the matter contained in these pages and, in a general way, of supervising their publication, has been allotted to the undersigned. He was assisted in those parts embraced in the *Advanced Sheets*, by Mr. Clarence H. Poe, the Secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association. In execution and detail he has been assisted by Mr. E. P. Moses of this city.

The most extensive work of the Commission is to publish, from time to time, as matter accumulates, volumes which shall show the records of the past not otherwise sufficiently preserved. But it is also designed that every five years, and, ultimately, perhaps, every year, there shall be issued a volume which shall preserve a record of passing events—specimens at least of the best things that are done and said in the State. If so be, the chief value of this book will be due to the fact that it is the first link in a chain of other similar publications.

W. J. PEELE.

THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

EDWARD P. MOSES.

On the evening of September 18, 1900, Hon. Walter Clark, Prof. D. H. Hill, Mr. Theophilus H. Hill, Rev. T. N. Ivey, Col. Thomas S. Kenan, Mr. Fred. L. Merritt, Mr. S. L. Patterson, Mr. W. J. Peele, Dr. George T. Winston, and others, met by invitation in the auditorium of the agricultural building to consider the question of forming an organization to stimulate literary and historical activity in North Carolina. It was agreed to form a society under the name of The State Literary and Historical Association and to appoint a committee to issue a call for a general meeting. A few days later the following notice appeared in the various newspapers of the State:

At a recent conference of gentlemen and ladies, held in Raleigh, it was determined to take steps for the organization of a State Literary and Historical Association. The undersigned were appointed a committee to prepare an address to the people of the State, setting forth briefly the purposes of such Association, and extending to all persons and organizations that may be interested an invitation to meet in the city of Raleigh on Tuesday night of Fair week, October 23d, *proximo*, at 8 o'clock, in the hall of the Olivia Raney Library building.

The chief purposes of the Association will be—

First. To promote the reading habit among the people of North Carolina.

Second. To stimulate the production of literature in our State.

Third. To collect and preserve historical material.

In carrying out these purposes the Association will hope to aid in the improvement of our public schools, in the establishment of public libraries, in the formation of literary clubs, in the collection and republication of North Carolina literature worthy to be preserved and now rapidly passing away, in the publication of an annual record or biography of North Carolina literary productions, in the collection of historical material and the foundation of an historical museum, and in the correction of slanders, misrepresentations, and other injustice done our State.

We are confident that much good can be accomplished by an association composed of even a few members who shall earnestly endeavor to promote these purposes. We therefore invite all, both ladies and gentlemen, who are interested in this movement, to be present at the time and place above indicated, to take part in the conference that is to be held, and to enroll themselves as members of the Association.

WALTER CLARK,
 GEORGE T. WINSTON,
 W. J. PEELE,
 HENRY JEROME STOCKARD,
 D. H. HILL,
 MISS REBECCA CAMERON,
 MRS. JOHN VAN LANDINGHAM.

RALEIGH, N. C., Sept. 22, 1900.

Just before the first general meeting, the following card from Mr. W. J. Peele appeared in the *News and Observer*:

Several historical associations exist, and some of them are doing good work; but they are local in their character, or connected with some school or college. They are all useful, but none of them can ever hope to organize the literary talent of the State. The truth of the matter is that literature must precede history—must precede, nay, even mainly bring about the organic unity which produces history in its highest form—the making as well as the writing of it. The Greeks organized around Homer. The Jews were made and kept a nation by their Book of books—and one day, under Providence, this Book will bring together again the “scattered nation.”

Literature is a preserver as well as an interpreter of a people's life. No State has been more misrepresented than our own; therefore, we must tell our own story; from our midst must come the man or woman in each generation whose voice will be heard above the jargon of those who belittle us at home and traduce us abroad. If we organize, gradually the best literary talent among us will emerge. The best will lighten the others, and they in turn will support their benefactors by sympathy.

If there is any among us who has the spirit of the matter at heart, he will speedily invent a plan—life will appropriate what is essential to it and take its proper form in due season. This is the question we must face: Is there real literary vitality in North Carolina, or the seeds of it? Another serious question is: How far is our character as a people affected by absorbing so much from abroad and producing so little at home? Our field is exploited almost entirely by aliens who have little interest in us except the money they can make out of us. How far and how fast a State Literary Association would evolve a remedy remains to be seen; but this much may be confidently predicted if the organization shall be possessed of any

life worthy of the name: that our people cannot be blatantly misrepresented without rebuke.

Local literary organizations and historical associations may be induced to act in concert. A meeting of representative literary people and those who sustain them by coöperation, called at some central point or place of resort once a year to review the situation from various standpoints, could but result in good. Creative work in literature as well as historical research should be encouraged, especially among the young. It is impossible to estimate the value to a State of even one literary genius among its sons or daughters who will work with and for our own people. Henry Grady was worth millions to Georgia, even in dollars and cents; and Dickens was worth hundreds of millions to England and to the world, if it be not profanation to measure in dollars the value of *Pickwick Papers*, for example, in destroying evil.

It is believed that the best work of the Association would be the gradual engendering of a healthy State pride. Much that we have done, however, must be first winnowed by the criticism of love; an accurate knowledge of ourselves must be the basis of all permanent progress. A good missionary field for individual effort as well as for organized endeavor is the encouragement of public libraries and libraries in connection with schools, even country schools, and factories. The Olivia Raney Library is a text and an inspiration for the establishment of a library in every village and hamlet in our State.

By way of summary: The Association should have for its main objects the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history, the encouragement of public and school libraries, and the inculcation of a literary spirit among our own people.

THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

Pursuant to the call, a large audience assembled in Music Hall of the Olivia Raney Library, October 23, 1900, and effected a permanent organization. Hon. Walter Clark was elected President. A constitution was adopted, viz.:

NAME.

This Association shall be called THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

PURPOSES.

The purposes of this Association shall be the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establish-

ment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina, and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation.

OFFICERS.

The officers of this Association shall be a President and three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Corresponding Secretary, whose terms of office shall be for one year and until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall be elected by the Association at its annual meetings, except that vacancies in any office may be filled by the Executive Committee until the meeting of the Association occurring next thereafter.

The duties of the President shall be to preside over all the meetings of the Association, to appoint all members of committees, except where it is otherwise provided, and to look after the general interest of the Association. In case of the death or resignation of the President, his successor shall be chosen from among the Vice-Presidents by the Executive Committee to fill the unexpired term. In the absence of the President, at any meeting, the Vice-President who may be selected by the Association shall preside.

The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep the books and the funds of the Association, and shall pay out money only upon the order of the Executive Committee and the warrant of its chairman and the President.

The Corresponding Secretary shall attend to the correspondence of the Association, and act under the general direction of the Executive Committee, and, for cause, he may be removed by the Executive Committee, in its discretion.

COMMITTEES.

The permanent standing committees of the Association shall be:

I. An Executive Committee, consisting of five members and the officers of the Association, who shall be *ex officio* members, except the Corresponding Secretary, any three of whom and an *ex officio* member shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The duties of this committee shall be to make programmes and arrangements for all meetings of the Association, to manage its business matters, to receive and acknowledge such donations in money, or its equivalent, as may be offered, and to endeavor specially to create a permanent fund of endowment by recommendation of its objects to our philanthropic citizens of means, to receive all reports of officers made when the Association is not in session, to make a report of its own actions and the affairs of the Association at the meetings thereof, and to perform the other duties herein prescribed for it.

This committee shall have power to determine the compensation of any paid officer or servant of the Association it may be necessary to employ, subject to the general supervision of the Association.

II. A committee on Literature and History, consisting of twelve members, to be appointed by the President, and such other members of the Association as they shall associate with themselves.

It shall be their duty to collect valuable material connected with the history of North Carolina and such of its literature as, in their judgment, is worthy to be preserved. They shall endeavor to secure the coöperation of local committees in the cities and towns of the State, and may appoint sub-committees wherever the same may be necessary for the prosecution of their work in any locality.

They shall recommend to the Association plans and contests to promote and encourage the production of literature among our people.

They shall examine and recommend for publication such of the manuscripts submitted to them as may be thought worthy, and they may require as a condition precedent to their taking any manuscript into consideration that its author first secure the endorsement of some local committee, and they shall have charge of any printing or publication ordered or authorized by the Association.

III. A committee on Libraries, consisting of twelve members, to be appointed by the President.

It shall be their duty to ascertain and report to the Association, as far as may be practicable, the number and condition of the public and school libraries in the State, and to devise and suggest plans for their establishment and promotion.

It shall be their special duty to suggest, promote, and encourage free libraries in connection with schools and factories.

This committee shall have power to associate with itself other members of the Association, and to appoint such sub-committees as it may deem requisite for its work in any locality.

IV. A committee on Membership and Local Organizations, consisting of twelve members.

It shall be their duty to find out by correspondence and otherwise persons in all parts of the State who are in sympathy with the objects of the Association and to bring the same to their attention as far as may be practicable. They shall promote and encourage local literary and historical organizations and endeavor to secure their coöperation with this Association by representation at its meetings and otherwise.

All applications for membership shall be made through this committee, and no person shall be elected, after the first meeting, except upon their recommendation.

V. A committee on an Historical Museum, consisting of seven members, to be appointed by the President, with power to associate with itself such other members of the Association as are interested in its special work.

It shall be the duty of this committee, by correspondence or otherwise, to collect and accept for the Association, and place in a museum or place of safe-keeping and exhibition, all valuable historical relics and original documents which may be donated or collected, and to endeavor to discover and collect them wherever they may be found: *Provided*, that the Historical Department of the State Museum, with the concurrence of its proper officers, be selected as the permanent place of deposit and safe-keeping for the Association.

MEMBERSHIP.

Any white resident of the State, or North Carolinian residing out of the State, who subscribes to the purposes of the Association, is eligible to membership and may be elected by the Association, or by the Executive Committee when it is not in session, upon the recommendation of the Committee on Membership.

FEES.

The initiation fee and the annual dues of each member of the Association shall be one dollar, to be paid to the Secretary and Treasurer.

MEETINGS.

There shall be one regular general meeting in each year, the time and place thereof to be determined by the Executive Committee.

After the adoption of the Constitution the following programme was carried out, with appropriate music:

How to Collect and Preserve Material for Local and State
History, GRAHAM DAVES, New Bern, N. C.
J. S. BASSETT, Durham, N. C.

Practical Plans for Publishing What We Produce,
E. J. HALE, Fayetteville, N. C.

How We May Stimulate the Production of Literature in North
Carolina, B. F. SLEDD, Wake Forest, N. C.

General Discussion.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Association that one day in each year be set apart in the schools of our State for the consideration of some important fact of State history, with appropriate public exercises, to be called "North Carolina Day."

Resolved, That annually, or biennially, as may be determined, the Association shall, as far as it may be able, cause to be printed

in a permanent form a year-book containing the best things in our history and literature that have been or shall have been produced.

Resolved, That this Association, as soon as the Committee on Literature and History shall recommend, offer a prize of one hundred dollars for the best story of the life of Vance for children.

On the morning following the first annual meeting, there appeared in the *News and Observer* an editorial which is herewith reproduced:

There was formed last night in our city an association which will exert a powerful and wholesome influence upon the future of North Carolina. Its purpose will be to preserve the records of the past life of the State and to foster the development of literary culture in the future.

No people in the Union possess stronger State pride than North Carolinians, but no people have done less to perpetuate the glories of their State, to systematize its intellectual culture, and to give it a recognized position in the literature and history of the world. This work remains to be done. The association formed last night will attempt to do it.

Raleigh is the place for this work. It has grown to be the leading city of the State in education and literary culture. In it are deposited the public records, in it are held the great conventions of parties and churches; to it come annually from all sections of the State the most active thinkers and workers. Raleigh should be in all things the heart of North Carolina's life. Here should be established a great library for reference and study, and especially for the study of all matters pertaining to North Carolina; here should be established a great historical museum, a collection of things illustrating the life of the State from the earliest period—Colonial, Revolutionary, Antebellum, Civil War, Civil, Political, Religious, Industrial, Military, Educational. So complete should be the collections in this library and museum that any student or writer anywhere on the globe seeking to investigate any question concerning North Carolina could find what he wanted in Raleigh. The Association will help to do this work, or at least to begin it, for the work will never be ended.

The study of North Carolina history in our own schools by our own people is to be promoted by the Association, resolutions to that end having been adopted last night, one suggesting the setting apart of a day each year for the special study of some single event in our history, another providing for a prize for the best popular school sketch of our great tribune of the people—Zebulon B. Vance.

Another line of work for the Association will be the formation of public and school libraries throughout the State and the promotion of literary or reading clubs. The influence of the Association will

be constantly and actively exerted, also, to improve our public school system.

There is every reason to believe that the work of this Association will be successful. The ideas that it represents are great and enduring; they are to preserve the records of the past life of a great people, and develop their literary and historical achievements. Its work will not depend upon numbers. Its success will not be that of mere organization. It will have to grow and develop slowly, doing its work in many directions patiently and patriotically, without other reward than the joy of stimulating a great people to literary culture and achievement, to that highest veneration for the past and regard for the present which finds its expression in history, literature, and art.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, November 29, 1900, it was

Resolved. That a committee of five be appointed by the President to draft and present a bill to the General Assembly of 1901, providing for the observance of a day in the public schools to be called "North Carolina Day."

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held in Raleigh January 17, 1901, Mr. G. A. Grimsley, chairman of the Library Committee, advocated the amendment of the Scales Library Act (Chapter 512, Laws of 1897) so as to permit towns and cities to issue bonds for library buildings. He also recommended that the Association memorialize the General Assembly to appropriate five thousand dollars annually to encourage the establishment of public libraries.

The committee on historical museum reported through Col. F. A. Olds, chairman, that about three hundred articles had been secured for the Hall of History, among them the will of Jonathan Falkland of Albemarle, 1692; the Great Seal of 1788; a large painting of Tryon's palace; a piano made in Raleigh in 1800; a million-dollar Confederate States Treasury Warrant to the State of North Carolina.

A committee was appointed to coöperate with Hon. F. D. Winston in the matter of securing the passage of an act to establish a day to be observed by the public schools to be known as "North Carolina Day."

A committee was also appointed to coöperate with Mr. G. A. Grimsley in the matter of securing the passage by the General Assembly of the act to provide for the establishment of public school libraries.

MEASURES SECURED THROUGH THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1901.

I. NORTH CAROLINA DAY.

Hon. Francis D. Winston, a member of the House of Representatives, introduced the bill January 21, 1901. As amended it passed both Houses without objection and was enrolled February 9th. It reads as follows:

[*Public Laws of 1901, Chapter 16½.*]

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE CELEBRATION OF "NORTH CAROLINA DAY" IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That the twelfth day of October in each and every year, to be called "North Carolina Day," may be devoted to appropriate exercises in the public schools of the State to the consideration of some topic or topics of our State history to be selected by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction: *Provided*, that if the said day shall fall on Saturday or Sunday, then the celebration shall occur on the Monday next following: *Provided further*, that if the said day shall fall at a time when any such school may not be in session, the celebration may be held within one month from the beginning of the time, unless the Superintendent of Public Instruction shall designate some other time.

SEC. 2. This act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

II. THE RURAL LIBRARY ACT.

The bill which was endorsed by the Executive Committee at its meeting in January was found, after consultation with members of the General Assembly, to be impracticable in some respects, and so another bill was drafted by some of the local members with the assistance of Senator H. S. Ward. The use of the word "rural" in the caption was suggested by Mr. Josephus Daniels. The bill passed the Senate without

objection. In the House of Representatives it was warmly championed by Mr. Thomas W. Blount, Mr. R. G. Russell, Mr. Charles Ross, Mr. W. S. Wilson, and others, and, after a spirited debate, with some minor amendments, it became a law March 13th.

[*Public Laws of 1901, Chapter 662.*]

AN ACT TO ENCOURAGE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LIBRARIES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE RURAL DISTRICTS.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That Chapter 512, Laws of 1897, be amended by striking out in lines three and four of section one the words "having more than one thousand inhabitants," and that the following sections be added after section five of said act:

SEC. 6. Whenever the patrons and friends of any free public school shall raise by private subscription and tender to the County Superintendent of Schools, for the establishment of a library to be connected with said school, the sum of ten dollars, the County Board of Education shall appropriate from the money belonging to that school district asking for the library the sum of ten dollars for this purpose, and shall appoint one intelligent person in the school district the manager of said library. The County Board of Education shall also appoint one competent person well versed in books to select the books for such libraries as may be established under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 7. As soon as the County Board of Education of any county shall have made an appropriation for a library in the manner prescribed, the County Superintendent of Schools shall inform the Secretary of the State Board of Education of the fact, whereupon the said State Board of Education shall remit to the County Superintendent of Schools the sum of ten dollars for the purchase of books for said library. Upon receipt of this money the County Superintendent of Schools shall turn over to the person appointed to select books the amounts secured by private subscription, by appropriation from the County Board of Education, and by appropriation from the State Board of Education.

SEC. 8. The person appointed to select books shall purchase such books as he or she may deem best suited for such purpose, and shall file with the County Superintendent of Schools vouchers for the whole amount received: *Provided*, that no vouchers shall be valid except for books and transportation charges.

SEC. 9. The local manager of every library shall carry out such rules and regulations for the proper use and preservation of the books as may be enjoined by the State Superintendent of Public In-

struction, and shall make provisions for having all the books, when not in circulation, kept under lock and key.

SEC. 10. The local managers of two or more libraries may by agreement exchange libraries: *Provided*, that no exchange shall be made oftener than once in six months, and that no part of the expense of exchanging libraries shall be borne by the public.

SEC. 11. The sum of \$5,000 of the appropriation for the public schools of the State is hereby appropriated and set apart to be expended by the State Board of Education under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 12. Not more than six (6) schools in any county shall be entitled to the benefits of this act, and no school district in any incorporated town shall receive any moneys under its provisions; the school receiving this benefit shall be decided by the County Board.

SEC. 13. This act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

III. THE PUBLICATION OF CREECY'S GRANDFATHER TALES.

At the request of a committee of the Association, Hon. H. G. Connor, a member of the House of Representatives, introduced the following resolution, which was adopted without a dissenting voice:

WHEREAS, the General Assembly has learned with gratification that Col. R. B. Creecy of this State has finished an interesting and valuable book devoted to the history of North Carolina, which has received the endorsement of the State Historical Society; and

WHEREAS, the publication of this book would do much to stimulate and encourage the study of North Carolina history: *Therefore*,

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, That Colonel Creecy's history is hereby recommended to the people of North Carolina, and to the schools of the State, and that the sum of two hundred dollars be and the same is hereby appropriated to be expended by the Board of Trustees of the Public Library for the purchase of copies of said book, and distribution as they shall deem wise.

THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

In the hall of the Olivia Rancey Library, the second annual meeting of the Association was held October 22, 1901, when the following addresses were made:

Address by the President, JUSTICE WALTER CLARK.

"Status of the Library Movement in North Carolina,"

G. A. GRIMSLEY, Greensboro, N. C.

"Possibilities of the Library Movement in North Carolina,"

SENATOR H. S. WARD, Plymouth, N. C.

"What Durham County is Doing, and What the State Ought to be Doing, for Public Schools,"

HON. ROBERT W. WINSTON, Durham, N. C.

"Proposition to Celebrate on Roanoke Island the Landing of Raleigh's Colony," MAJ. GRAHAM DAVES, New Bern, N. C.

Proposition Seconded, GOVERNOR CHARLES B. AYCOCK.

"Ways and Means to Erect a Statue to Sir Walter Raleigh in Our State Capital," GEN. JULIAN S. CARR, Durham, N. C.

Poem—"Sir Walter Raleigh" (written for the occasion),

HENRY JEROME STOCKARD.

Judge Clark, the retiring President, endorsed the work of the Association and commended the suggestion of Mr. O. W. Blacknall to republish the old histories of the State. Mr. Blacknall's letter was as follows:

I know of no better way to accelerate the growing interest in the history of the State than to render our older historical works accessible to all. Lawson (even in the reprint), Martin, Williamson, Foote, Hawks, and even Wheeler, are scarce and high, some of them excessively so. All of these works are of more or less value. Lawson, besides being an exceedingly interesting book, gives valuable glimpses of North Carolina life while the red man was still here and the white man had just come—meeting, as is well known, a death from torture at the hands of the Indians.

Wheeler is a veritable mine of lore, historical, genealogical—a well from which each man may draw according to his understanding, as Coke, I believe it was, said of the law.

There are hundreds of historical students in our midst who would be delighted to own copies of Martin, Hawks, Williamson, and others,

if they were to be had at the low price of new publications—say one dollar each. Nor could there be a better way to bring about the production of a worthy history of the State than to arouse a general interest in those old books.

Some North Carolinian of means who loves letters and his State could prove himself Mæcenas indeed by having these works, or the best of them, and perhaps other worthy books on the same line, reprinted in an inexpensive form. The sale of the reprints would largely or probably very nearly cover the whole expense incurred. The deficit would not exceed a few hundred dollars at most.

Col. F. A. Olds reported that space for the historical collection would probably be made in the State Museum.

Maj. Graham Daves proposed that a celebration be held on Roanoke Island to commemorate the landing of the colonists sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584, 1585, and 1587. Governor Aycock spoke to the motion:

I rise for the purpose of seconding the motion of my friend Maj. Graham Daves. The motion is not made too soon; indeed, we have neglected this important duty until it becomes almost a source of humiliation to us to make it. The event which we propose to celebrate is one of importance. The colonizing of the province of North Carolina was one of great significance, and although the first attempts to settle this State proved unsuccessful, they laid the foundations for the later settlement which meant so much to the world. Wherever the Anglo-Saxon sets his foot, he becomes a permanency. He loves acres and will not for any consideration yield them to another. Where he has once become established he is a fixture and he carries with him the infinite love of home, and out of that grows a respect for government and the power of self-restraint which makes government a possibility and a success. He has conquered the earth by his love of home and has found success in curbing his own desires and passions. The leader of the great movement for the colonization of the new land may well be declared to be Sir Walter Raleigh. A soldier, a scholar, a statesman, a navigator, a discoverer, and admiral, he was, taken all in all, a most remarkable man, and his death endears him to us as one who suffered much for the great things which he had done. We can say of him with Fitz-Greene Halleck of Marco Bozzaris:

"We tell thy doom without a sigh,
For thou art Freedom's now and Fame's—
One of the few, the immortal names,
That were not born to die,"

Still if his fame had been dependent upon North Carolina people he would only have been remembered by the naming of our capital city for him. In studying his illustrious career with a view to seconding this motion, I had occasion to seek information, and I naturally sought it in our State Library; but I could not find a history of the man who had settled our State. I am a trustee of the State Library, and I confess a sense of shame to be compelled to admit that we have in it no life of this good, great, and illustrious man. I promise you that the study of his career shall be rendered easier in the future by the purchase of many books relating to his life.

It is high time that we learned something of him who first colonized our State, and the celebration of that colonization on the island where his colony first landed will in itself teach us something of the great man for whom we have named our city. In the morning of the twentieth century, in the dawn of an educational revival, we can do nothing better than to turn back to our beginnings and study carefully the heroic self-sacrifices of those who planted in order that we might reap.

Among the pioneers there was none so great, there was none so good as Sir Walter Raleigh, and if we could learn from his life and his death the lessons which they teach us we would have the greatest State in the world. On the night before he was to have been executed he wrote a letter to his wife from which it is not inappropriate that I should quote: "I can say no more," he said; "time and death call me away. The everlasting, powerful, infinite, and omnipotent God, who is goodness itself, the true life and true light, keep thee and thine, have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my persecutors and accusers, and send us to meet in His glorious kingdom." In this spirit he lived, in this spirit he wrought, in this spirit he died; and I can but think while we have forgotten the man we have remembered his teachings and that the uprightness and virtue of our people, their confidence and hope in God, have found a strength and support in the life of this admirable man.

Let us, therefore, with united purpose, celebrate the settling of this colony. Let us publish to the world our admiration for the man who did so much for us. Let us declare to the earth that we appreciate his work and that we glory in his noble life and in his shameful death. In doing this thing we are but putting ourselves in line with the new educational zeal of the State. Those of us who have passed out of the schools and can never more attend them will show to the children of the State that the history of great men is to us still an inspiration and is a subject worthy of their study and appreciation.

I earnestly, as the Governor of the State, speaking with the authority of the people of North Carolina, second the motion for the celebration on Roanoke Island of the landing of the first colony of the province of North Carolina. The event ought to be made one of

great significance, of far-reaching results. It ought to show to the world that a pure unmixed Anglo-Saxon people are not only capable of self-government, but have long memories and a gratitude which extends through centuries, for no people who are ungrateful can ever be truly great.

I promise you, ladies and gentlemen, that no power of the State which can properly be exercised shall be wanting to make the event which you propose to celebrate a noble and imposing one, and I am proud of the opportunity of thus identifying myself and my administration with the movement which you have inaugurated. In conjunction with your establishment of rural libraries, this event gives you the right to the gratitude of all North Carolinians, and particularly to the gratitude of him who would prefer to be known as one who favors the education of all the people of the State than to have any other honor which in any event might come to him.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That a committee on the part of the State Literary and Historical Association (Graham Daves, chairman, and others to be named) be and the same are hereby appointed to provide and secure an appropriate celebration next summer on Roanoke Island of the landing of the first Anglo-Saxon colony in America, as near as may be on the anniversary of the same, and that the committee have power to associate with itself and coöperate with such other organizations and persons as may be interested in the movement.

That this committee be instructed to hold its first meeting in Raleigh, at a time to be appointed by Graham Daves, and then select its chairman and secretary and take such other steps as may be necessary to perfect its organization.

Resolved, That a committee of twenty-five, to be selected by Gen. Julian S. Carr, be and the same is hereby appointed to adopt such measures as may be requisite to carry into effect his suggestions for collecting a fund to erect a suitable statue to Sir Walter Raleigh in our capital city, named so fitly in his honor; and that in carrying this resolution into effect the committee have in mind the educational value of giving the people an opportunity to raise this fund by penny collections, so that all may share in the glory of thus honoring the great hero-martyr of American colonization.

Hon. H. G. Connor was elected President of the Association for the ensuing year.

THE RALEIGH STATUE.

The local members of the committee provided for in the foregoing resolution met in Raleigh November 18, 1901, and issued a call for a general meeting of citizens of the State for the purpose of inaugurating the movement to secure funds for the statue. This meeting was held on the evening of November 22d. *The News and Observer* said:

The people of Raleigh did honor last night to the movement to erect a statue to the memory of Sir Walter Raleigh. There was a monster gathering at Metropolitan Hall, the occasion being the presentation of a souvenir box by Gen. Julian S. Carr for the collection of funds. The house was packed from pit to dome and hundreds were turned away. The magnificent audience testified to the intense interest the people of Raleigh are taking in this movement to honor the memory of the city's namesake.

The exercises inaugurating the movement to erect a statue to Sir Walter Raleigh in this city were in keeping with the interest displayed by the people of the city. The stage was handsomely decorated for the occasion. Conspicuous in the background were flags of the city and an immense portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Mr. A. B. Andrews, Jr., presided over the meeting and presented Judge Clark, whose introductory remarks were most handsomely said. In very appropriate words Judge Clark presented General Carr, who was accorded an ovation. Mayor *pro tem.* A. B. Andrews, Jr., responded on behalf of the city. Mr. N. B. Broughton, the chairman of the committee, responded on behalf of the citizens of Raleigh.

Collections were taken up in the public schools on North Carolina Day. The fund grew gradually until at the annual meeting of the Association in 1905, the ladies of the Virginia Dare Memorial Association, through Mr. F. H. Busbee, presented to the Association for the use of the Sir Walter Raleigh Monument Fund the sum of four hundred and sixty dollars and sixty-two cents. This swelled the fund to about one thousand dollars, and stimulated interest in the movement. The Woman's Club of Raleigh has undertaken the work of enlisting the interest and support of the other Woman's Clubs in the State. The promoters of the enterprise will appeal to North Carolinians, resident and non-resident, for contributions to the amount of fifty thousand dollars.

THE CELEBRATION ON ROANOKE ISLAND IN 1902.

A meeting of the celebration committee provided for by the resolution of the Association October 22, 1901, was held in Raleigh November 21st. Maj. Graham Daves, the chairman, presided. A programme for the celebration was suggested for consideration by a subcommittee. At a meeting held January 2, 1902, it was resolved that a Celebration Company be incorporated with a capital stock of \$250,000, divided into shares of five dollars each, with authority to begin business when two thousand shares shall have been collected. It was also resolved to memorialize Congress to appropriate two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to aid the celebration.

Hon. F. M. Simmons introduced a bill in the United States Senate to appropriate twenty-five thousand dollars for a monument to Virginia Dare and fifty thousand dollars for the celebration on Roanoke Island.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee June 6, 1902, it was

Resolved, That the general celebration committee meet on Roanoke Island, July 24, 1902, and that all members of the Association be authorized to invite persons interested to the meeting.

On July 24, 1902, the anniversary of the landing of the English in America, many citizens of the State assembled on Roanoke Island, among them, besides the speakers of the day, Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, Mr. Thomas W. Blount, Rev. R. B. Drane, Col. Charles McNamee, Mr. E. F. Aydlett, Mr. H. T. Greenleaf, Mr. Frank Wood.

PROGRAMME OF PUBLIC EXERCISES
AT MANTEO, N. C.

Preliminary Business Meeting of the Celebration Committee.

Address of Welcome. C. R. PUGH, Manteo, N. C.

Response, HON. W. D. PRUDEN, Edenton, N. C.

Address on Sir Walter Raleigh, . GEN. J. S. CARR, Durham, N. C.

Song—"The Old North State."

The Sound Section of North Carolina.

Song—"America." HON. JOHN H. SMALL, Washington, N. C.

What the Celebration Means, . JUSTICE WALTER CLARK, Raleigh, N. C.

Roanoke Island a Center of Historic Interest,

HON. CHARLES F. WARREN, Washington, N. C.

The Nation's Part in the Celebration,

SENATOR F. M. SIMMONS, Raleigh, N. C.

Hon. W. D. Pruden said in part:

Sometimes we wonder whether, after all, history and tradition are not at fault and our people the descendants of the hardy colony supposed to have been lost.

From its earliest history the people of the Albemarle country have come here in search of health and social pleasure. Here, more than three hundred years ago, the first effort to settle this continent was made; here was born the first white child, and here the first Christian baptism was celebrated in America. Long, long before the boasted settlement preserved in story and in song by the commendable patriotism of our Northern neighbors was thought of, these shores listened to the songs and prayers of the white man, and witnessed his struggle to give a nation to progress and to God. This is a history of which we ought to be proud.

Ten years ago old Fort Raleigh, a monument in itself to the magnificent courage and splendid heroism of Sir Walter Raleigh's colony, was almost lost in the encroaching forest, and our most valuable records were permitted to moulder and decay. How few of our people then had heard even of this precious history! We have improved some, and I believe are improving; a commendable spirit of investigation and research is growing among our people, but how few even know much of it.

The increased interest in this island and its history is due largely to the efforts of that patriotic North Carolinian, Prof. Edward Daves, who, aided by his no less patriotic brother, Maj. Graham Daves of

New Bern, and a few others, prompted solely by his love for North Carolina and for the truth of history, in the face of difficulties which seemed almost insuperable, inaugurated the movement which has been taken up by others and, like bread cast upon the waters, finds rich fruition in the zeal and enthusiasm manifested here to-day. Professor Daves has gone to his reward—the reward of the faithful.

Upon the death of Prof. Edward Daves, his work was taken up by his brother, Maj. Graham Daves. As a result of this movement the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association was incorporated in March, 1894, and since then much work has been done. But I prefer that you shall have a report through a private letter to me from Major Daves:

NEW YORK, N. Y., July 19, 1902.

W. D. PRUDEN, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR:—* * * Briefly, then, as to what has been accomplished by our organization: We have purchased two tracts of land at the northern end of Roanoke Island, one of about two hundred and forty acres, partly cleared, with good landings on both Croatan and Roanoke sounds. There are some dilapidated buildings on it, not occupied. This tract stands in your name as trustee, and is for sale, which as yet we have been unable to effect, and we sadly need the funds its sale would bring, so as to carry out more fully the purposes of the Association. The other tract, nearly a mile distant from the first, contains sixteen acres, and upon this is the site of Fort Raleigh, its moat and outlines still perfectly distinct and now marked at its angles with granite blocks. Near the center of the front we have placed a handsome memorial stone of granite, whose inscription recites quite fully the interesting historical events that happened there. The fort site is properly cleared, is enclosed by a rough rail fence for protection, and a roadway cut to it from the county road near-by. The titles to both tracts have been quieted, and several of the more prominent corners of both marked with granite blocks. A granite block has also been placed at "Indian Hole," near the fort tract—an important corner to which nearly all grants and deeds thereabouts have reference. The site of the fort has been carefully verified and the whole property accurately surveyed by a very competent surveyor and maps made of the same, one copy of which is on file in one of the books of the Register's office at Manteo, where all deeds may be seen also. We were obliged to buy both tracts to get the fort site, as the owners—the same in both cases—would not sell either without the other. The property is visited and inspected frequently by myself, oftener by an agent, and the fort enclosure protected by regular raking of trash, etc., as far as possible from forest fires. To prevent trespass and depredations the lands are posted. We own the lands without encumbrance, have good titles, have done much to rescue the historic spots from oblivion, owe no debts of any kind, and I have a few dollars in hand to the credit of our Association.

Very truly your friend,

GRAHAM DAVES.

This is perhaps not much, but it is something; it is a basis on which we can build. Let us take it up where his hands dropped it.

Visit old Fort Raleigh. See the stone there erected. Take inspiration from it. Resolve to do more for the State and its history and go away better and more patriotic North Carolinians.

Hon. John H. Small spoke on "The Sound Section" in part as follows:

The subject assigned to me is notable for what it emphasizes. If it was intended to elicit a discussion of the history of that section of North Carolina bordering on and tributary to our sounds, there would be opened a most interesting field for profitable reminiscence.

The problem of transportation, which confronts every commercial people, is solved by the presence of these broad sounds and of the numerous rivers and tributaries which extend westwardly through all these counties. But there is one difficulty. We are comparatively landlocked.

The very recital of conditions suggests the remedy. It is a free inland water-way, extending from Elizabeth River at Norfolk, connecting with our sounds through a canal owned and maintained by the government, and extending through our inland waters, with an outlet to the ocean at Beaufort Inlet, to be of a minimum depth of twelve or sixteen feet over its entire length.

You must not charge me with egotism or undue personal pride in urging this great project upon your attention. It is not an original proposition. Washington himself, with engineering skill and prophetic vision, advocated the construction of the Dismal Swamp Canal. Marshall Parks wrote and dreamed of this great project in its entirety.

The address of Judge Clark, "The Cradle of American Civilization," appears elsewhere in this volume.

Hon. F. M. Simmons said in reference to the measures then pending for an appropriation for a national celebration:

The bills introduced at the last session of Congress by the Representative from this district, Mr. Small, and myself have drawn the attention of the country to the historical importance of this little island and have begun a discussion by the press throughout the country of the historical events we are here to-day to celebrate. I have received many letters from prominent newspapers and magazines making inquiries and expressing sympathy with the object of these bills.

THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING.

The third annual meeting of the Association was held in Raleigh, January 23, 1903. The programme was as follows:

Annual Address of the President, . . . JUDGE H. G. CONNOR.
 Report on Hall of History, F. A. OLDS.
 Rural Libraries in Our State, HON. J. Y. JOYNER.
 North Carolina Bibliography for 1902—

(a) History—D. H. HILL.

(b) Poetry—H. J. STOCKARD.

Claims of State Literature and History in Our Schools,

J. W. BAILEY.

Two resolutions were adopted. The one provided for the appointment of a committee to draft a bill for the establishment of a State Historical Commission; the other looked to the enlargement of the rural library system. Bills carrying out the resolutions on these two subjects were presented to the General Assembly and unanimously enacted into law. The act establishing the State Historical Commission is found in the Public Laws, Chapter 767. The Rural Library Act, amended in accordance with the petition of the Association, is Chapter 226 of the Public Laws of 1903.

Prof. W. L. Poteat was elected President.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The fourth annual meeting of the Association was held in Pullen Hall of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, November 12, 1903. The following programme was carried out:

The Enrichment of Country Life (President's Address),

W. L. POTEAT.

North Carolina Bibliography for 1903, . . . R. F. BEASLEY.

Report on Hall of History, F. A. OLDS.

The Career of Sir Walter Raleigh, W. J. PEELE.

A Study of North Carolina Poetry, HIGHT C. MOORE.

Material for the Study of North Carolina History in Trinity

College, H. B. ADAMS, JR.

The address of Mr. Peele on the Career of Sir Walter Raleigh appears elsewhere in this volume.

Hon. J. Bryan Grimes offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association ask the following gentlemen, Chief Justice Walter Clark, Chairman; Capt. S. A. Ashe, Senator H. A. London, Hon. A. C. Avery, Hon. W. A. Montgomery, Major E. J. Hale, and Capt. W. R. Bond, to act as a committee to investigate and report upon the accuracy of North Carolina's claim as to the number of troops furnished by this State to the Confederacy, and upon the merits of our claim as to "First at Bethel, Farthest at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, Last at Appomattox."

Upon the resolution Colonel Grimes submitted remarks, in substance, as follows:

Not many weeks ago at a meeting of the Grand Camp of the Virginia Confederate Veterans, Judge George L. Christian surprised the country by questioning the claims made by North Carolina as to her record in the War for Southern Independence. These assertions of Judge Christian, occupying the position he does, give his charge such prominence and his article has been given such currency that it should not be allowed to pass unnoticed.

We feel it our duty to our State to refute this disparagement by Judge Christian, and it is peculiarly appropriate that this Association should take up this challenge, and I wish to offer a resolution to that end.

I do not intend to reflect upon Virginia, and I would not have this resolution construed in that way, but North Carolina has suffered enough in the past by being denied credit for her achievements. Our State has always acted the part of a loving sister to Virginia. In her early Colonial wars it was the North Carolina soldier who, without reward or hope of reward, assisted in driving the French and Indians from the Virginia border.

In the earliest days of the Revolution the North Carolina soldier hurried to Great Bridge to stand between the British invader and the heart of Virginia.

In the great Civil War the first soldier sacrificed in defense of Virginia homes was the Carolinian Wyatt, and in that long and bloody struggle for every one soldier life that Virginia gave to protect herself, more than two North Carolina soldiers were buried in her soil.

Whenever Virginia has suffered North Carolina has bled. We would disdain to pluck one laurel from Virginia's brow—we love her

still—but we say calmly to our beloved sister that she must pause and give us justice. We are worthy of our appropriate motto, *Esse quam videri*, and we are ready to prove our claim.

WAR RECORD OF THE COMMITTEE.

- WALTER CLARK—*Second Lieutenant and Drill-master 22 N. C. (Pettigrew's) Regiment; First Lieutenant and Adjutant 35 N. C. (M. W. Ransom's) Regiment; Major 6 N. C. Battery; Lieutenant-Colonel and Major 70 N. C. Regiment.* Paroled at Johnston's surrender.
- E. J. HALE—*Private Co. H, "Bethel" Regiment; First Lieutenant and Adjutant 56 N. C. Regiment; Captain and Major, A. A. G., Lane's Brigade.* Paroled at Appomattox.
- W. A. MONTGOMERY—*Private, Sergeant, and Second Lieutenant Co. F, 12 N. C. Regiment.* Paroled at Appomattox.
- W. R. BOND—*Private 12 N. C. Regiment; Second Lieutenant Co. D, 43 N. C. Regiment; First Lieutenant and Aide-de-camp to General Daniel.* Captured at Gettysburg. Prisoner at Johnson's Island.
- A. C. AVERY—*First Lieutenant and Captain Co. E, 6 N. C. Regiment; Captain and A. A. I. G., D. H. Hill's Corps; Major 17 N. C. Battery.* Captured by Stoneman, April, 1865.
- H. A. LONDON—*Private Co. I, 32 N. C. Regiment, and courier to General Grimes.* Paroled at Appomattox.
- S. A. ASHE—*Private 18 N. C. Regiment; Captain and A. A. G., Pender's Brigade; First Lieutenant U. S. Engineers.* Paroled at Johnston's surrender.

On August 25, 1904, several members of the committee made reports which are published in this volume, and on October 18, 1904, the committee made its full report. The identification of localities at Appomattox was made by a committee sent thither under instruction from the Association.

Prof. C. Alphonso Smith was elected President.

THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The Association's fifth annual meeting was held in Raleigh, October 18, 1904, with the following programme of exercises:

President's Address: "The Average American,"

C. ALPHONSO SMITH, Chapel Hill.

North Carolina in the Civil War: A Reply to Judge Christian's

Charges, . . . JUDGE WALTER CLARK, Chairman of Committee.

North Carolina Bibliography for 1904, . . . D. H. HILL, West Raleigh.

Our State Literature, . . . JOHN CHARLES McNEILL, Charlotte.

The University and Its Relation to State History,

PRESIDENT F. P. VENABLE, Chapel Hill.

The Association adopted a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of three to memorialize the General Assembly to erect a Hall of Records and History. The committee drafted a bill appropriating one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. This was referred to the joint committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and received a favorable report. The measure failed, however, to pass.

Hon. R. W. Winston was elected President.

THE PATTERSON CUP.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, December 27, 1904, the announcement was made of the gift to the Association of the Patterson cup. Mr. Clarence H. Poe elsewhere in this volume describes the cup and its connection with the literary history of the State.

THE HISTORY TEXT-BOOK BILL.

Several members of the Association presented a bill to the General Assembly of 1905, which passed both Houses without opposition. It is as follows:

[*Public Laws of 1905, Chapter 707.*]

AN ACT TO PROMOTE THE PRODUCTION AND PUBLICATION
OF SCHOOL BOOKS RELATING TO THE HISTORY, LITERA-
TURE, OR GOVERNMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA, FOR USE
IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That for two years, nineteen hundred and five (1905) and nineteen hundred and six (1906), five thousand dollars (\$5,000) per annum of the appropriation for the public schools of the State be and the same is hereby appropriated to be used by the State Board of Education as far as it may deem it needful, to encourage, stimulate, and promote the production, and to procure the control and publication of such school books as in the judgment of the Board properly relate to the history, literature, or government of North Carolina: *Provided*, that the five thousand dollars (\$5,000) per annum herein appropriated shall not be withdrawn from the public school fund except upon requisition of the State Board of Education for the purposes of this act, and then only in such amounts as may be needed at the time of each requisition; and that an amount equal to such part of the appropriation as shall not be withdrawn during the years aforementioned is hereby appropriated as the same may be needed for the purposes of this act out of the appropriation for the public schools for any subsequent year: *Provided further*, that the State Board of Education is hereby authorized to select a committee to examine any manuscript that may in the judgment of the Board be sufficiently meritorious for critical examination, and to call such committee together for conference, and to pay out of the funds herein provided the members of said committee their expenses and such reasonable compensation for their services as the Board shall fix.

SEC. 2. That the Board of Education shall fix the prices at which the books published under the authority of this act shall be sold to the children in the public schools; and the proceeds of such sales not further needed, in the judgment of the Board, for the purposes of this act, shall belong to and be a part of the public school fund. The books published by authority of this act shall be used in all the public schools under such rules and regulations as the said Board shall prescribe.

SEC. 3. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The Association's sixth annual meeting was held in Raleigh, October 17, 1905, with the following programme:

Discussion of petition to Legislature for placing statue of Senator Vance in Statuary Hall, Washington. Fifteen-minute addresses by . . . JUDGE ARMISTEAD BURWELL, Charlotte, HON. W. A. MONTGOMERY, Raleigh.

Annual Address of President: "A Plea for a Larger State Pride," HON. ROBERT W. WINSTON, Durham.

North Carolina Bibliography, 1905, PROF. D. H. HILL, West Raleigh.

Discussion of "Need of a Fire-proof State Library and Enlargement of State Capitol," . HON. JOHN H. SMALL, Washington, HON. C. R. THOMAS, New Bern.

Presentation of Patterson Cup to the Association by GOVERNOR R. B. GLENN and its Acceptance by PRESIDENT R. W. WINSTON.

The address of President Winston may be found elsewhere in this volume.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved. That the Association endorse Senate Bill 5797 of the Fifty-eighth Congress, providing for a National Historical Commission, and that a committee be appointed to confer with our Senators and Representatives on the subject.

This bill was introduced by Senator Lodge of Massachusetts. It provides for the appointment of fifteen commissioners to be known as the United States Historical Commission, whose duty it shall be to collect from public archives and private manuscript collections in this country and abroad abstracts or copies of important documents illustrating American Colonial history and the early history of the United States. The bill provides for suitable offices for the Commission, for the coöperation of the country's diplomatic representatives abroad, and for an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars.

Resolved. That it is the sense of this Association that John White's painting entitled "The Coming of the Englishmen into Virginia in 1584," together with his representations of life on Roanoke

Island in 1585 and 1586, be reproduced on a large canvas for the North Carolina exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition, and that a committee be appointed to bring this matter to the attention of the proper authorities.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare an address to the people of North Carolina to show the need of a fire-proof building for the safe-keeping of the State's invaluable collection of manuscripts, newspapers, public documents, and books, which are stored in rooms full to overflowing and in imminent peril of destruction by fire.

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to consult with the librarians of other States and publish their replies on the subject.

WHEREAS, There are two niches in Statuary Hall, in the Capital at Washington, reserved for North Carolina to fill with statues of two of her sons; and,

WHEREAS, The State has not hitherto made choice from among her many illustrious sons and provided statues to fill these niches; and,

WHEREAS, It is believed that the consensus of opinion among the people of the State, without regard to party affiliation, is that ZEBULON BAIRD VANCE, as a member of the National House of Representatives, as a soldier in the War Between the States, as Governor of the State three times elected, as United States Senator, as an orator of wonderful magnetism, as a citizen of spotless character and commanding influence in the State; for what he did and what he said, in peace and in war, during the dark days of Reconstruction and in the development of the State along its best lines, and promoting the general welfare of the people since, proved himself worthy that his statue should fill one of the niches reserved for our State: *Therefore*, it is

Resolved, By the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, that the General Assembly of the State, at its next session, be memorialized to take such steps as may be necessary to have a marble statue of Zebulon B. Vance placed in one of those niches, and to make a suitable appropriation for such a statue and for its erection in Statuary Hall.

Resolved further, That a committee of five be appointed by the President to bring this matter properly before the General Assembly.

Ex-Gov. C. B. Aycock was elected President.

CONCLUSION.

Let the conclusion of this sketch of the Association be a restatement of its purposes expressed five years ago:

The purposes of this Association shall be the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina, and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation.

In the light of recent history, may we not fairly interpret this statement as a prophecy? To the credit of the Association belongs the initiative of movements which have culminated in the enactment of the following legislation: The Rural Library Act, the North Carolina Day Act, the Historical Commission Act, the History Text-book Act.

The unprecedented success of the Historical Museum is due to the tireless energy and self-sacrificing labors of Col. F. A. Olds.

One can not measure in terms of statutes or in piles of brick and mortar what the Association has done to quicken the intellectual life of the State; but it has spoken a word of hope and has extended a hand of help to more than one of our students and writers. And when all is said, this must ever be its highest and noblest purpose.

THE HISTORICAL MUSEUM.

F. A. OLDS.

The growth of the Hall of History has been extremely gratifying not only to myself, the originator and the collector, but it is a pleasure to say, to the North Carolina public and to visitors from other States, who say that no collection south of Washington is so comprehensive. Yet though the collection is beginning to fill a spacious hall, it is a mere beginning, and it may be taken as a fact that what is there shown is but a tithe of what North Carolina has to offer in the way of memorials of a great and noble past. It is very difficult, so greatly has the collection grown, to go into details about it, since that would require a large catalogue.

Beginning with the Indian life, which in a way blended with that of the whites until at least the period of the War of 1812, the collection runs the scale all the way to to-day—from the stone tomahawk to a Krag magazine rifle; truly, a very far cry indeed. The return to the State of the exhibit made at St. Louis gave to the hall many much-needed cases, all of the best pattern, and now there are thirty-seven, which to be sure are very completely filled, while much of the space on the walls is occupied by pictures, many of which bear upon striking periods in our history. There are some very notable private collections which are loans, among these being those of Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire, Mrs. Margaret Devereux, and Mr. Charles Earl Johnson, these being particularly rich in objects of the Colonial period. Secretary of State J. Bryan Grimes has from the first manifested a deep interest in this work and has shown this in many ways, and through his influence there has been secured the loan of the Swain collection of autograph letters of noted Colonial and Revolutionary men, and the collection of autograph let-

ters of Governors from Thomas Pollock down to the present incumbent. Some of the most valuable historical documents of the State are on view, and the work of preparing the large designating cards for each case and the special labels or sub-cards for each separate exhibit has been no inconsiderable one. The scheme of designation is at once so complete and so simple as to reduce the necessity of question-asking to a minimum.

The range of objects is very wide—from warlike implements to articles which illustrate the home life of the olden days in many quaint and deeply interesting ways. The growth of the collection illustrating the Colonial period is quite marked and the grouping has been very carefully done. Such a collection is never finished and there will have to be re-grouping from time to time, as may be necessary, and more cases will soon be called for. Quite recently objects bearing upon the “Regulators” and their part in the stirring events immediately before the Revolution, have been secured. The deep public interest in the career of John Paul Jones makes an autograph letter from him of special value. It is difficult in a way to group relics, etc., which illustrate certain periods, but the wars are taken as a basis.

The Historical Commission has shown a very gratifying degree of attention and has made some very valuable contributions, among these being a striking series of photographs illustrating Indian life as Sir Walter Raleigh’s colonists found it in 1584-’87, the illustrations photographed being in the first book written about North Carolina, an original copy being in the Cheshire collection; also photographs of the treaty made with a portion of the bloodthirsty Tuscarora Indians after the massacre of 1711. The Commission has also presented a portrait of Maj.-Gen. Robert F. Hoke of the Confederate Army, which has been placed above the pictures of the Confederate ram Albemarle, original drawings, a loan from the *Century Magazine* of New York City. Harper Brothers of New York have also made gifts of portraits of Governor John Sevier of the short-lived State of Franklin,

and of Daniel Boone, the greatest of hunters and Indian-slayers.

The collection of arms, of the various periods, has grown steadily, and only a catalogue could go at all into its details. It embraces the period of the Crusades, in which to be sure the progenitors of not a few North Carolinians cut no small figure; a very noble sword of the date of the second Crusade being a loan by Charles F. von Herrmann, now of Baltimore, through me to the collection; thence through the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, to the second war with England, that of 1812; the Mexican War period, and notably the Civil War, the collection of objects illustrative of the latter being very varied and striking, and thence down to the last of the wars—those in Cuba, in the Philippines, and with the Boxers in China, in all of which to be sure North Carolinians figured. The Reconstruction period which followed the Civil War, and which is now being made a subject of special study, is being covered by the collection. In fact, no period of the State's history is escaping attention, and the letter-writing is becoming extensive indeed, as objects have first to be located and then to be asked for, in some cases quite a lot of correspondence being necessary.

The cases being moth-proof, dust-proof, and with double safety locks, the best opportunity is afforded for the preservation of relics and more especially clothing, as special preparations are used which destroy all insect life. As a result the collection of uniforms of the Civil War period has come to be very notable, embracing particularly uniforms worn by Generals Grimes, Ramseur, Pender, Hoke, Robert Ransom, Pettigrew, Leventhorpe, Branch, Matt. Ransom, Cox, and others, and also uniforms of all ranks and of all branches of the service, many of these and other relics being most pathetic, their number being so great as to preclude any detailed description.

The collection of swords of officers in the various wars is particularly striking to visitors. Two objects which attract marked attention are the shot-riddled smoke-stack or funnel

of the Confederate ram Albemarle and a section of a pine-tree from the battlefield of Bentonville, which was the last battle of the Civil War, one of the hardest fought and most deadly. These relics stand side by side and give a striking idea of what fighting there was on land and on water.

One may look forward a little into the future and see that this collection will be given a very noble hall, strictly fire-proof; part at least of a building worthy of the State and fit to hold the countless records which ought to be preserved with infinite care and shown so that all the world can see. The work so far done has been strictly that of a volunteer, without expense to the State. That it has been a stimulus to pride in the State and to research into historical matters is very gratifying, and both teachers and pupils in colleges and schools have found it of value. One thing is certain, this being that no longer can the stigma rest upon North Carolina of having no collection of relics illustrating her noble history. People of all classes have united in lending their aid, though very great difficulty has been experienced in securing objects along certain lines. No funds are at my disposal, of course. If any were available, some striking historical groups would be prepared, in the proper costume of the period, notably one illustrating the first colonists and their Indian friends, and showing the arms and armor of that period. A few hundred dollars would suffice to do this particular thing; but despite personal applications for subscriptions to this end, very little money could be pledged. It is hoped, however, that this casual mention of something which surely ought to be in the Hall of History may act as a stimulus to some patriotic North Carolinian, for to be sure there are many such.

A catalogue will very probably be prepared some time during the winter, mainly as an incentive to the people of the State to give further aid—by gifts or loans to the collection. A series of visits will be made to the older towns and cities of the State, with a view to locating historical objects and of securing for the Hall of History such as it is possible to obtain.

“NORTH CAROLINA DAY” IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

FRANCIS D. WINSTON.

At the instance of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, an act of our General Assembly was passed designating October 12th as North Carolina Day in the Public Schools.

The consecration of one day in the year to the consideration in the Public Schools of the history of the State is a beautiful idea. It is the duty of every public school teacher in North Carolina to obey the letter of this law, and it is gratifying to know that the schools over the State are availing themselves of this opportunity to fill the children with pride in their State, to thrill them with enthusiasm for the study of her history, and to kindle new fires of patriotic love.

As an evidence that North Carolina Day is an important event in our educational work, 20,000 copies of the programme for one year were distributed and the official reports show that more than 3,000 schools observed the day with the official programme.

The State Superintendent gives this celebration much prominence. The material for these celebrations has been carefully selected; the programmes have been neatly printed—in pamphlets of about fifty pages each. In this work he has received the efficient assistance of the Daughters of the Revolution, the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, and patriotic citizens of the State interested in preserving her history.

The subject selected in 1901 was “The First Anglo-Saxon Settlement in America.” Following the chronological order

of the State's history, the subject for 1902 was fittingly "The Albemarle Section," and the subject for 1903 was "The Lower Cape Fear Section." In succeeding years the history of other sections of the State will be studied somewhat in the order of their settlement and development, until the entire period of the State's history shall have been covered.

PROGRAMME FOR 1901—NORTH CAROLINA DAY.

SUBJECT: FIRST ANGLO-SAXON SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA.

PROGRAMME OF EXERCISES.

1. Song: "Our Fathers' God, to Thee."
2. Reading: Sketch of Sir Walter Raleigh, the Father of Anglo-Saxon Colonization in America.
3. Declamation: Sir Walter Raleigh and Virginia Dare.
By JOSEPH W. HOLDEN.
4. Reading: Sketch of the Landing. From Hawks' History.
5. Song: "Ho! for Carolina" W. B. HARRELL.
6. Sketch of the Settlement of Roanoke Island. (From N. C. Booklet) By GRAHAM DAVES.
7. Recitation (or Reading):
 - (a) The Mystery of Croatan . . . By MARGARET J. PRESTON.
 - (b) Roanoke Island By FRED A. OLDS.
8. Address by Local Orator.
9. Recitation: Poem, "My Native State" . . . By H. J. STOCKARD.
10. General Discussion—Topics:
 - (a) Are the Croatan Indians the Lost Colony?
 - (b) Why Did the Attempt to Colonize North Carolina Fail?
11. Song, in conclusion: "The Old North State" . . . By GASTON.
 Sir Walter Raleigh By HENRY JEROME STOCKARD.

PROGRAMME FOR 1902—NORTH CAROLINA DAY.

 SUBJECT: THE ALBEMARLE SECTION.

PROGRAMME OF EXERCISES.

1. Song: "The Old North State" WILLIAM GASTON.
2. Reading: The First Governor, William Drummond. Adapted from
Wiley's North Carolina Reader and Weeks' Sketch of Drummond.
3. Questions and Answers for Children.
By Committee of State Literary and Historical Association.
4. Reading: Roanoke Island of To-day . . . CHARLES E. TAYLOR.
5. Reading: Albemarle Monuments R. B. CREECY.
6. Reading: Edenton W. E. STONE.
7. Song: "America."
8. Reading: Hertford W. F. McMULLAN.
9. Reading: A Distinguished Citizen of the Albemarle Section.
Adapted from Address by JUNIUS DAVIS.
10. Declamation: Extract from the Memorial to Congress concerning
the Celebration of the Settlement of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonies on Roanoke Island.
GEORGE T. WINSTON, for Committee.
11. Reading: Cape Hatteras and the Banks.
12. Hatteras and the Bankers R. B. CREECY.
13. Stories of the Banks JENNIE LANGSTON.
14. Declamation: Hatteras JOSEPH W. HOLDEN.
15. Selected Hymn.

PROGRAMME FOR 1903—NORTH CAROLINA DAY.

SUBJECT: THE LOWER CAPE FEAR SECTION.

PROGRAMME OF EXERCISES.

Prayer.

1. Song: "The Old North State" WILLIAM GASTON.
 2. Reading: The Early Explorers and Settlers of the Cape Fear A. M. WADDELL.
 3. Declamation: The Pride of the Cape Fear . . . GEORGE DAVIS.
 4. Reading: Life Among the Early Cape Fear Settlers.
JOHN BRICKELL.
 5. Recitation: The American Eagle . . . HENRY JEROME STOCKARD.
 6. Reading: Mary Slocum's Ride . . . Adapted from MRS. ELLET.
 7. Recitation: Moonlight in the Pines . . . JOHN HENRY BONER.
 8. Reading: Reception of the Stamps on the Cape Fear.
GEORGE DAVIS.
 9. Recitation: Light'ood Fire JOHN HENRY BONER.
 10. Declamation: The Men of the Cape Fear . . . GEORGE DAVIS.
 11. Reading: Rescue of Madame DeRosset . . . JAMES SPRUNT.
 12. Recitation: Alamance S. W. WHITING.
 13. Reading: Blockading off the Cape Fear . . . JAMES SPRUNT.
 14. Recitation: Regret . . . CHRISTIAN REID (Mrs. F. C. Tiernan).
 15. Resources of the Lower Cape Fear. Adapted from "North Carolina and Its Resources," published by State Board of Agriculture.
 16. Questions and Answers.
 17. Song: "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."
- Appendix.

Teachers are urged to make a special effort to secure a larger attendance of the patrons of the district on these occasions. This should be the educational rallying day. The women interested in better school-houses should be given a place on the programme.

On the 22d day of August, 1901, the *Windsor Ledger* in urging a proper celebration of this day said editorially:

We refer our public school teachers to Chapter 164, Laws 1901, for the act providing for the celebration of North Carolina Day in the public schools. The act was introduced by the representative from this county. It provides that October 12 of each year be devoted to considering topics of our State history, to be selected by our State Superintendent. The date is a memorable one. America was discovered on that date. It is also the day of the founding of the University—the very capstone of our public school system. The day should be made very interesting in our schools. All of the patrons of the school should be present. It should be a picnic occasion, with public dinner. The children should be given tasks on Bertie County history. We suggest the following arrangement for a day's entertainment and profit:

1. Have two scholars write a short sketch of the county.
2. Have one scholar write a history of the founding of the public school in that district, giving date, names of all committeemen, names of all teachers and of those in the vicinity interested in school work.
3. Have one scholar give the number of miles of public road in the township in which the school is situated and the distance and direction of the school from the important places in the county.
4. Have one scholar give the names of all rivers, creeks, swamps, bridges and other natural objects in the township, including places of note, residences, and families..
5. Have one scholar give the names and number of churches, when organized, and the names of pastors, clerks, and officials, past and present.
6. Have one scholar give the names of all Confederate veterans in the township, with the company and regiment in which they served, and any special acts of daring and bravery they performed.
7. Have one scholar give any local incidents and traditions.

These matters occur to us now. Our teachers can easily enlarge the scope of the work. In ten years with the work carried out on this plan we will have the best county history ever written of any locality.

I suggest that the future programmes be cast on more local lines. Organization for this work must be had and the unit of organization should be each district. The County Superintendents will be the collectors for each county and a few years would place much valuable material in their hands for the future historian. No matter how the day is celebrated, it can not fail to produce the best historical results.

THE RURAL LIBRARY.*

CLARENCE H. POE.

Just now, when the princely donations of Mr. Andrew Carnegie have given a new stimulus to library building in American cities, it may be well to turn our eyes to the "other half"—the rural half—of our population, for although, until quite recently, no one thought of the public library as a possible rural institution, it has now made an auspicious entry into this new field, and is destined to play an important part among the twentieth century forces—rural mail delivery, good roads, rural telephones, etc.—that make for the uplift of American country life.

The need of the rural library must be apparent to all that are familiar with country school methods. Reading is the magic key to all our storehouses of intellectual wealth; it is the basis of all education. "The true university of these days," says Carlyle, "is a collection of books." And it is here, of all points in its curriculum, that the country school has failed most grievously: it has not taught the children to read, to use books. Do not understand me to charge that the rural school is literally and avowedly disloyal to the first of the immortal three R's, for it is not. But only in the narrowest sense does it teach reading—reading as the mere pronunciation of words and the observance of punctuation marks; the unlovely, mechanical side of reading. The brighter side of reading the country pupil does not get; the city pupil does. Aided by the prescribed supplemental literature, and guided by the teacher, the child of the townsman learns to find joy in reading, learns not only *how to read*, but actually learns *to read*, to use books. If you know the

* Republished from the *American Monthly Review of Reviews* for September, 1904, by permission of Review of Reviews Company.

country school as the writer does, you know the other side of this picture. You know children who live out a long school career without learning anything of literature beyond the monotonous rehearsal of dry text-book matter. Cold, hard facts about the boundaries of foreign states, the dates of ancient battles, the rules of the stock exchange, are regarded as matters of importance; but the teacher does not see that it is better to foster a love of reading than to teach history or geography. Or if he sees the duty, and longs to direct the child to the beauties of literature, he is shackled by the lack of facilities for such work. Year after year, there is the same old drill in the same old readers; no classics are studied, and there is no supplemental reading to give the spice of variety. It is inevitable that children reared in such schools come to regard reading not as a luxury, but as a drudgery, and grow up potentially, if not in the strictest sense, illiterate. "I confess," says Thoreau, somewhere in his "Walden," "that I do not make any broad distinction between the illiterateness of my townsman who can not read at all and the illiterateness of him who has learned only to read what is for children and feeble intellects." How much narrower, then, should be the distinction between the "illiterateness of him who can not read at all" and the illiterateness of him whose training has been such that he regards reading only as a task to be shunned! People everywhere are now beginning to see the mistake pointed out, ten years ago, by President Eliot in his essay, "Wherein Popular Education Has Failed." He says:

"We have heretofore put too much confidence in the mere acquisition of the arts of reading and writing. After these arts are acquired, there is much to be done to make them effective for the development of the child's intelligence. If his reasoning power is to be developed through reading, he must be guided to the right sort of reading. The school must teach not only how to read, but what to read, and it must develop a taste for wholesome reading."

It is to remedy just this defect that the rural school library has been introduced into twenty-nine American States. And though widely varying plans have been adopted, in no other State, I dare say, has more rapid progress been made or greater results accomplished in proportion to capital expended than in North Carolina. For this reason I may be pardoned for referring at some length to this North Carolina plan, which seems to be the one best adapted to States having a large rural population and a small revenue. The law as passed by the General Assembly of 1901 provides, in substance—

That wherever the friends or patrons of any rural public school contribute \$10 or more for starting a library in connection with the school, \$10 of the district school fund shall also be set apart for the same purpose, while another \$10 will be given from the State appropriation—thus insuring at the outset at least \$30 for each school library; in many cases, of course, the patrons contribute more than the minimum sum, \$10, needed to secure the \$20 from other sources. The County Board of Education then names some competent person to manage the prospective library and buy the books for it, these to be chosen from a remarkably well-selected list of standard works recently prepared by a committee of distinguished educators. The same committee, by the way, obtained competitive bids from prominent publishing houses, thus forcing prices to strikingly low figures, even for classics. The smallest libraries have seventy-five or eighty neat and substantially bound volumes.

By the earnest efforts of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, an appropriation of five thousand dollars was obtained for the payment of the State's part on the experimental plan just outlined, and in September, 1901, the appropriation became available, and the first North Carolina rural school library was established. The entire sum would have been speedily exhausted by the more progressive sections had not the Legislature provided that State aid should

be available for not more than six school districts in any one of the ninety-seven counties. Within five months a third of the counties reached this limit, and applications from other communities within their borders had to be rejected. Before the General Assembly of 1903 met, in January, four hundred and thirty-one of a possible five hundred libraries had been helped. In the face of such success there was nothing for the Legislature to do but to make an appropriation of five thousand dollars more for the ensuing two years, while twenty-five hundred dollars was added to maintain and enlarge the libraries already established, the same Carnegie-like principle of coöperation to be observed: each gift from the State to be duplicated by an appropriation from the school fund, and again duplicated by private subscription.

Already many applications for aid from the new appropriation have been received, and Superintendent Joyner confidently predicts that before the next Legislature meets North Carolina will have one thousand* State-aided rural school libraries. Then there are others, established entirely by private gifts. In one county (Durham) adjoining that in which the writer lives, a wealthy citizen continued the good work begun by the State. He offered to duplicate amounts raised after the State aid limit had been reached, and now every one of the forty white schools in the county has a library.

One other fact deserves mention. Not only does the rural school library develop the reading habit—it develops it along right lines. Since, as Emerson says, “the ancestor of every action is a thought,” how important it is that the literature that is to provoke thought be wholesome and well-balanced! In our city libraries fiction has much too large a place; many women and young people read nothing else. But while these rural libraries contain a few novels, the chief effort is to develop a proper appreciation of choice works of science, travel, nature study, poetry, history, biography, and mythology.

*There are now about 1,500 libraries, and it is safe to predict 2,000 in the near future.

Even if the child formed the "reading habit" outside the school, it would still be worth while for the State to have these libraries for the sole purpose of turning his new-found love of literature into right channels of truth and beauty.

Nor have the boys and girls been the only beneficiaries of the new movement. It has opened up a new world for many of the parents, and has done incalculable good in continuing the education of persons too old or too poor to longer attend school. The Superintendent of Schools for Durham County says that the books are used almost as much by the parents as by the children themselves, and the Pitt County Superintendent says that the libraries have caused hitherto indifferent parents to become deeply interested in reading and in the education of their children. "The peculiar value of the school library," as the *New York Evening Post* rightly observes, "lies in the fact that it educates the younger generation as well as the older."

All in all, the North Carolina plan has proved a strikingly successful innovation, and we are moved to wonder that our educational leaders did not long ago perceive the value of rural library work, or, realizing it, did not think of the ease with which it may be conducted in connection with the public school. We are not far from the time when no house where children meet for study, whether in town or country, will be regarded as even tolerably equipped without a small collection of the best books.





MRS. J. LINDSAY PATTERSON.

THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

CLARENCE H. POE.

The most notable recent gift for the encouragement of literary and historical activities in North Carolina is the \$500 loving cup donated to the State Literary and Historical Association by Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson of Winston-Salem.

This splendid gift is given by Mrs. Patterson as a memorial of her father, Col. W. H. Patterson, of Philadelphia, who died last September, and will be known as the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup." Colonel Patterson was himself a writer and a scholar of unusual ability, and was intensely interested in North Carolina history and Southern literature generally. And the memorial which Mrs. Patterson has decided upon is not a barren and lifeless one, but one which will be fruitful of great good to the State in just the way her father would have liked most. The terms under which the cup is given are these:

At each meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association it is to be awarded to that resident of North Carolina who during the preceding twelve months has published the best work, either in prose or verse—history, essay, fiction, or poetry; in books, pamphlets, or periodicals. At the end of ten years the cup is to become the permanent possession of the writer winning it the greatest number of times, though if no one person win it three times, or if there be a tie, the time will be extended. No one is formally to enter the contest, and the judges from their knowledge of our State literature are simply to decide which North Carolina writer publishes the worthiest work between the annual meetings of the Association. The cup is now being made in Philadelphia, and the first award will be made at our annual meeting in October, all the work of the preceding twelve months being

considered by the judges. Each winner is to have his name engraved on the prize, and to retain possession of it for one year.

The judges as finally decided upon by Mrs. Patterson consist of the President of the Literary and Historical Association, chairman, and the occupants of the chairs of history in the University of North Carolina and Trinity College, and the chairs of literature in the University, Davidson, and Wake Forest.

All in all, the plan is regarded by our committee as thoroughly happy, praiseworthy, and practical, and we feel that the whole State will honor Mrs. Patterson for her patriotic action.



THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

PRESENTATION OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

MARGARET BUSBEE SHIPP.

The gray Senate walls have looked down on varying scenes—dramatic, poignant, decisive. Here the casting of the tie vote of Calvin Graves in favor of the bill subscribing two millions for the North Carolina Railroad was greeted with applause so tremendous as to be carried from point to point of the city; here were the trials which broke up the Ku-Klux; here the reception to the conquering General, when Grant stood impassive as a statue during Settle's speech of welcome. Here was a happier picture when the University doors were declared reopened, or when the Agricultural and Mechanical College was created. Yet there has always been an undertone—the chagrin of the minority, the heartburnings of the defeated. So if, like Shakespeare's wall, these granite sides could show "a cranny'd hole or chink" at will, they would perhaps have chosen to let in an extra ray of sunshine on the 19th of October, 1905. It was a spectacle of double significance. Political bickerings were forgotten in the spirit of hospitality and appreciation, the people of the Capital City were animated by one feeling when they welcomed the great President of our common country. For the first time a State-wide importance was given to literary work.

These events were typified in the loving cup which President Roosevelt had been asked to present to Mr. John Charles McNeill, under the auspices of the State Literary and Historical Association. About them gathered a group of men noted in the State, the two Senators, the Lieutenant-Governor and State officers (the Governor, sadly absent on account of

his brother's death, being represented by his Chief of Staff, Col. Charles E. Johnson), the Governor's personal and departmental staff, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, the Mayor of Raleigh, Brigadier-General Woodruffe, representing the United States Army; Gen. T. R. Robertson, the State Guard; the Chief Marshal of the Fair, and those gentlemen under whose auspices the Fair has been made a success, and a small group of men prominent in different walks of life. The State Literary and Historical Association was represented by its President, ex-Governor Aycock; Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, Third Vice-President; Mr. Poe, Secretary, and the Executive Committee.

A small number of women were honored by this opportunity of meeting the gracious mistress of the White House. The President and Mrs. Roosevelt held an informal reception and every one was impressed by the cordiality and tact of the President and the sweet womanliness and gentle courtesy of Mrs. Roosevelt. Columns have been written of her, yet one's mind slipped past newspaper floridities and found her best description in the searching words the wisest man chose long ago: "The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her."

The President's remarkable memory of names and facts was evidenced by the individuality of his greetings. He took Mr. Poe aside to discuss the latter's article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, he recalled his meeting with Governor Aycock in Charleston. After the informal reception, Lieutenant-Governor Winston presented the newly-elected President of the State Literary and Historical Association, ex-Governor Aycock, who called to mind the history of the cup, and declared it would have an added value when presented by the Chief Executive, himself a lover of literature and a strong and forceful writer. He then introduced Mr. McNeill.

To this the President replied:

"MR. MCNEILL: I feel, and I am sure all good Americans must feel, that it is far from enough for us to develop merely a great ma-

terial prosperity. I appreciate, and all of us must, that it is indispensable to have the material prosperity as a foundation; but if we think the foundation is the entire building, we never shall rank as among the nations of the world; and therefore it is with peculiar pleasure that I find myself playing a small part in a movement, such as this, by which one of the thirteen original States, one of our great States, marks its sense of proper proportion in estimating the achievements of life, the achievements of which the Commonwealth has a right to be proud. It is a good thing to have the sense of historic continuity with the past, which we get largely through the efforts of just such historic societies as this, through which this cup is awarded to you. It is an even better thing to try to do what we can to show our pleasure in and approval of productive literary work in the present. Mr. McNeill, I congratulate you and North Carolina."

Mr. McNeill's attractive personality was never more in evidence than in the modesty and dignity with which he received a trophy so well worth the winning and so just a cause of gratification. Receiving the gift from the President, he had intended to say:

"Mr. President, my joy in this golden trophy is heightened by the fortune which permits me to take it from the hand of the foremost citizen of the world. To you, sir, to Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, our gracious matron of letters, and to the committee of scholars whose judgment was kind to me, all thanks."

But his words were checked by the burst of applause which greeted him, its spontaneity proving how unanimously the audience agreed with the judges' verdict.

It has already been told in these records that this cup of virgin gold and native jewels typifies a daughter's reverential devotion to the memory of her father, himself a scholar and a patron of letters.

It was a happy fortuity that the first presentation of the Patterson Cup could be made by our first citizen, that the attention of the entire State might be directed to it. For the embodiment of an ideal, as well as for her graceful generosity, North Carolina owes a debt to Mrs. Patterson, on which it is hoped heavy interest will accrue during the next ten years, in the renewed stimulus and forward impulse she has given to literary workers.

John Charles McNeill was born July 26, 1874; entered Wake Forest College in '93, where he was valedictorian of his class; took A. B. in '98 and A. M. in '99. He was made Professor of English at Mercer College, Ga., but afterwards returned to his native State and located at Laurinburg to practice law. He was sent by Scotland County to the Legislature in 1903, and in August of the following year accepted his present position on the staff of the *Charlotte Observer*. The bare outline of Mr. McNeill's career would prove nothing save his versatility. Somewhere beyond this must lie the evolution of the poet and dreamer.

Rev. Livingston Johnson, his friend, teacher, and near kinsman, gives us a nearer intimacy with his boyhood, with the old McNeill home at the foot of the sandhills (in what is now Scotland County), with its orchard and vineyard, its cherry-trees and blackberry patches. The neighbors, the church, and the school lay to the southward, a wide wilderness to the northward. There were thousands of acres then of unscarred pine, very little scrub growth, and a continuous sward of wire-grass. People who see the sandhills now and did not see them then, can not imagine their past beauty, especially when Spring quickened the grass to greenness all over the "burntwood." As a boy, the cows were assigned to him; he could recognize any cow-bell on the range from its farthest jangle. A born son of the woods, he could pilot fox-hunters through them on the darkest night, or find the hidden places where the arbutus grew, or the violets and pinks in season. But as to the regular farmwork, though he had to buckle down to it when things got in the grass, when it is said of him that he had more whippings for laziness than any other boy, the man of to-day looks reminiscent and enters no denial.

There's a delicious bit of laughter in *The Century*, revealing experience in one of life's little tragedies, when a boy longs to go swimming with taunting chums, but has to remain on duty holding the calf by the ear to keep him from getting at the cow during milking-time. In the same magazine's "year of wit and humor" there were some dialect

verses showing knowledge of river-craft. This Mr. McNeill learned later when the family moved to Riverton, on the Lumber River, five miles below his old home. He grew as intimate with the river as with the woods, until no boy could outswim or outfish him.

In the churchyard there was a school-house, and the hall of the literary and debating society. The hall is of home-made brick, octagonal in shape, and quite a pretty monument. Unfortunately the meetings have suspended within the last few years; but in Mr. McNeill's teens they had an excellent library and frequent gatherings, so that the boys and girls about there grew up on Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Shakespeare. (It is sometimes an advantage for a library only to have sufficient means to purchase the books of the centuries, and not the latest books of the month).

It seems a very happy boyhood—the wide, friendly woods, the known sequence of flowers, the hunting, the river, the dreaming hours while his dog helped keep watch and the cow-bells' tinkle slipped into the cadence of his fancies. Those days have left their impress in the freshness and limpidity of his style; even though the man may be caught in the treadmill of the daily grind, like the captive mocking-bird of his song, he bears "wide, sunny stretches in his mind."

For those who have not kept up with the growth of Mr. McNeill's work, it might be well to reprint some typical poems here. "The Drudge," by one of the foremost editors in the United States has been compared to Wordsworth, perhaps because of the simplicity of its pathos and its dumb questioning:

Repose upon her soulless face.
Dig the grave and leave her,
But breathe a prayer that, in His grace,
He who so loved this toiling race
To endless rest receive her.

Oh, can it be the gates ajar
 Wait not her humble quest,
 Whose life was but a patient war
 Against the death that stalked from far
 With neither haste nor rest:

To whom were sun and moon and cloud,
 The streamlet's pebbly coil,
 The transient, May-bound, feathered crowd,
 The storm's frank fury, thunder-browed,
 But witness of her toil;

Whose weary feet knew not the bliss
 Of dance by jocund reed;
 Who never dallied at a kiss?
 If heaven refuses her, life is
 A tragedy indeed!

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"Sundown" is the title of this exquisite evening hymn:

Hills, wrapped in gray, standing along the west;
 Clouds, dimly lighted, gathering slowly;
 The star of peace at watch above the crest—
 Oh, holy, holy, holy!

We know, O Lord, so little what is best.
 Wingless, we move so lowly.
 But in Thy calm all-knowledge let us rest—
 Oh, holy, holy, holy!

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Wingless! How full of subtle suggestion is the word as he uses it here—how it seems to embody the appeal of the faltering to the strong, the uncertain to the sure, the human to the divine.

Quite another note is struck in the "Recompense," which Mr. McNeill is said to prefer to anything he has written:

Much have I pondered what our lives may mean,
 And what their best endeavor,
 Seeing we may not come again to glean,
 But, losing, lose forever.

Seeing how zealots, making choice of pain,
 From home and country parted,
 Have thought it life to leave their fellows slain,
 Their women broken-hearted;

How teasing truth a thousand faces claims,
As in a broken mirror,
And what a father dies for in the flames
His own son scorns as error;

How even they whose hearts were sweet with song
Must quaff oblivion's potion,
And soon or late their sails be lost along
The all-surrounding ocean;

Oh, ask me not the haven of our ships,
Nor what flag floats above you!
I hold you close, I kiss your sweet, sweet lips,
And love you, love you, love you!

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Personally, I should challenge Mr. McNeill's preference. Though there is undeniable truth in every liquid line, it is but partial truth; and the songs which embody the philosophy of *Carpe Diem* never attain the majesty of those which voice the austerer creed: "*Longum illud tempus, quum non ero, magis me movet, quam hoc exiguum.*"

His latest poem, "A Caged Mocking-Bird," makes one confidently believe that his future will yield even greater gifts than has his liberal past. But let it speak for itself:

I passed a cobbler' shop upon the street,
And paused a moment at the doorstep, where,
In nature's medley, piping cool and sweet,
The songs that thrill the swamps when spring is near,
Fly o'er the fields at fullness of the year,
And twitter where the autumn hedges run,
Joined all the months of music into one.

I shut my eyes: the hermit-thrush was there,
And all the leaves hung still to catch his spell;
Wrens cheeped among the bushes; from somewhere
A bluebird's tweedle falteringly fell;
From rustling corn bob-white his name did tell;
I heard the oriole set his full heart free;
And barefoot boyhood rushed again to me.

The vision-bringer hung upon a nail
Before a dusty window, looking dim
On marts where trade waxed hot with box and bale;
The sad-eyed passers had no time for him.
His captor sat, with beaded face and grim,
Plying a listless awl, as in a dream
Of pastures winding by a shady stream.

Gray bird, what spirit bides with thee unseen?
For now, when every songster finds its love,
And makes his nest where'er the woods are green,
Free as the winds, thy song should mock the dove.
Ah, were I thou, my grief in moans would move,
At thinking—otherwise, by others' art
Charmed and forgetful—of mine own sweetheart.

O many-souled Shakespeare bird, who knows
Full well each feathered songster's pipe to wind!
O captive Milton, in this dreary close
Singing in shame of fortune so unkind,
Holding wide, sunny stretches in thy mind!
I blush to offer sorrow unto thee,
Master of fate, scorner of destiny!

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Given by a high-minded woman in memory of a noble father, presented under the auspices of the State's most disinterested society, conferred upon its foremost literarian by the man whom not only the nation but the world recognizes as "the third great President"—around the Patterson Cup center memories of patriotism and inspiration.

JOHN HENRY BONER.

MARCUS BENJAMIN.

In the old historic town of Salem, North Carolina, Boner was born in 1845. A picture of the actual house in which he first saw the light of day is given in the volume of his poems published after his death, and in that building his first poem was written. Under the title of "Broken and Desolate" he describes "the old home where my youth was spent." In after years he found it "all sadly altered" and "all changed," so that he writes:

* * * I pressed my face
Against the silent wall, then stole
Away in agony of soul,
Regretting I had seen the place.

Of his boyhood days the bare fact that he received an "academic education" is all that he told of that period of his existence, for now that he has gone from us comes the realization that he never said much about himself. Among his poems is "A Memory of Boyhood" in which he describes how—

Floating on the gentle Yadkin in an olden-time canoe,
Singing old plantation ballads—I and charming blue-eyed Sue—
Blue-eyed, golden-tressèd Sue.

As he grew into manhood he learned the printer's trade and in time was graduated from the composing-room into the editorial sanctum, being connected with journals both in Salem and in Asheville. He served as Reading Clerk of the North Carolina Constitutional Convention in 1868 and was Chief Clerk of the North Carolina House of Representatives in 1869-'70. Soon after he left his native State

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and entered the civil service in Washington, where, until 1886, he served in the Printing Office, at first as compositor and then as proof-reader. That he was appreciated by his associates is shown by the fact that in 1878 he was President of Columbia Typographical Union, No. 101, in which office he showed executive ability and a thorough knowledge of parliamentary practice, and he gave the Union a conservative and safe administration.

It was during these years that fame as a poet came to gladden his life. His verses of that period were of his own Southland.

In 1883, his first book of poems, entitled "Whispering Pines," was published in Washington, and the beauty of many of his verses gained for him recognition and appreciation from the literary men of the North, chief among whom was Edmund Clarence Stedman, who has ever extended a friendly hand to younger and worthy authors, and with whom he had formed a pleasant acquaintance through correspondence. In his "Poets of America," published in 1885, Stedman specially mentions Boner in writing of Southern poets, and in describing their work he says that they open vistas of the life and spirit of the region. Of no one is this truer than of Boner.

Learning of his having been removed from office, Mr. Stedman invited Boner to New York City, and soon secured congenial employment for him as one of the staff on the Century Dictionary, then in course of preparation. For a time he aided Mr. Stedman in his great Library of American Literature, and of that service it is recorded, "for the accuracy of the text we are greatly indebted to the friendship and professional skill of Mr. John H. Boner, of the Century Dictionary staff, who has given much of his spare time to the correcting of our page-proofs and in other ways has been of service to the work."

His standing as a man of letters received further recognition by his election, in 1888, to membership in the Authors' Club in New York, an honor well deserved and gladly conferred upon him.

For a time he served as literary editor of the *New York World*, and of that experience I recall a single incident. Pope Leo was seriously ill and an obituary notice was needed at once. Boner was assigned to the task, and it was well on in the morning before he finished it; but it was never used. Boner himself was sleeping in his grave a year or more before the final summons came to the venerable pontiff.

During the years 1892-'94 he was connected with the editorial staff of the *Standard Dictionary*. His experience and excellent judgment made him a valuable addition to that force of literary men. His desk, for a portion of the time, was adjacent to my own, and the friendship that ensued continued till his death. It was at this period that he built the home on Staten Island to which he gave the name of Cricket Lodge, and he described it as—

* * * but a lodge indeed—
Two end-gables, one end freed
From a rigidity by sweep
Of a dormer-windowed deep
Roof-tree—such were pigeons' preen—
And the shingles stained moss-green.

In this home—his own—

On a green and breezy hill
Overlooking Arthur Kill
And the Orange Mountains blue
In their everchanging hue—

he had hoped to pass life's declining years

Happier than the past has been.

As his work on the *Standard Dictionary* approached completion, its publishers, recognizing his editorial ability, placed him in control of their well-known publication, *The Literary*

Digest, over whose columns he continued in charge until 1897. The improved character of that journal, due to his critical judgment and excellent taste, soon became apparent, and has since been maintained. In addition to his regular duties, he prepared a valuable series of brief summaries of American contemporary poetry that attracted much notice.

Conspicuous among Boner's traits of character was that of dogged persistence. He would not give in—he could not—and so, on a matter of no great importance, he declined to agree with his publishers and, rather than yield, he resigned from his editorship.

At last, broken in spirit and in health, he appealed to friends in Washington, asking that a place be found for him. A decision of the Civil Service Commission fortunately made it possible to restore him to his place as proof-reader in the Government Printing Office.

It soon became apparent that his strength was not even equal to the light work required of him, and he began to fail more rapidly. The winter proved a severe one for him, and it was evident that a complete rest was essential for the restoration of his health. A small pamphlet entitled "Some New Poems," selected from writings published chiefly in the *Century Magazine* subsequent to his "Whispering Pines," and most kindly dedicated to the present writer ("Whose loyal friendship has been a solace and a help to me in dark days"), furnished the slender purse required for a few months' visit to North Carolina.

In May he wrote from the hospital where he had gone for recuperation: "Am going South next week, if possible. In bad shape. Doctor says consumption." A few days and he was able again to hear "the notes of the Southern mocking-bird."

But you must live in the South,
Where the clear moon kisses with large cool mouth
The land she loves, in the secret of night,
To hear such music—the soul-delight
Of the Moon-Loved Land.

For a little more than six months he was happy in being—

Back in the Old North State,
Back to the place of his birth,
Back through the pine's colonnaded gate
To the dearest spot on earth.
No sweeter joy can a star feel
When into the sky it thrills
Than the rapture that wings a Tar Heel
Come back to his native hills.

In the exuberance of his joy at being among his "loved ones in mothernook" he wrote "The Wanderer Back Home," of which the foregoing is the initial stanza. It was published in the Charlotte (North Carolina) *Observer* of December 15, 1901, and only a few days before he sent the following message to his comrades in Washington: "I am in bed again and am mortally sick. Have a new doctor who tries to jolly me along." This message came from Raleigh, where much of his time was spent, and of which place he wrote facetiously years before: "I feel quite at home in New York. It reminds me so much of Raleigh." His visit was nearing its end, and to his friends he spoke of "how he loved Raleigh and its people and hoped to spend his last days there"; "but not thus the stern fates would."

In January he returned to Washington and tersely announced his arrival with "'And the cat came back; I go to work to-morrow."

For a little while he was able to continue at his desk, but it soon became apparent that for him—

Night is falling—gently falling, and the silver stars are shining.

With pain that was severe and with suffering that was cruel he struggled against the inevitable through the year with a courage as noble as that shown by those immortal comrades who fought through the Wilderness with Lee. And then in March, 1903, the end came and he realized—

The bliss of that Eternal Rest
Emancipated souls must know.

For he found—

Reunion with the loved and lost,
 Revealment of the Almighty cause,
 The Unknowable made plain—the cost
 Of knowledge fixed by wondrous laws.

Let me add one more stanza:

Howe'er it be, one thing I know:
 That is a faith which hath sufficed
 Men mourning in the land of woe—
 A simple faith in Jesus Christ.

Among his earlier poems—doubtless written before he left North Carolina—I find the following words:

Where shall my grave be—will a stone
 Be raised to mark awhile the spot,
 Or will rude strangers, caring not,
 Bury a man to them unknown?

His associates and friends bore him to a lonely grave—as yet unmarked—and there, far from home and from those he loved, he rests. In one of his sweetest poems he tells how

The bells are ringing—Sabbath bells;
 and then

* * * I hear
 The old Moravian bell ring clear,
 But see no more—tears fill my eyes.

And then the wish—

Where'er it be my fate to die,
 Beneath those trees in whose dark shade
 The first loved of my life are laid
 I want to lie.

And what of the man? I have tried to tell, in his own words so far as possible, the story of the life of my friend Boner, and my effort will not have been in vain if, perchance, my poor endeavor finds favor among the men and women of the Old North State he loved so loyally, and of whose beau-

ties he sang so sweetly, and it may be—I pray that it may be so—that they may bring him home at last to rest in the little Moravian graveyard in Salem.

THE REINTERMENT.

JOHN H. CLEWELL.

At the close of a peaceful Sabbath day, while the evening shadows were lengthening, with a great concourse of sympathetic friends gathered near, and with the grave lined with boughs from the cedars about which he wrote so lovingly, the sweet singer was laid to rest.

John Henry Boner died in Washington City in March, 1903. He was buried in the Congressional Cemetery, and soon after his death friends and admirers agitated the question of erecting a suitable monument to his memory. The project was received with favor by many distinguished literary men, among whom were Dr. Marcus Benjamin, Dr. William J. Holland, Mr. Edmund Clarence Stedman. An association was formed and it was decided to remove the remains to his native home, the place he loved so well, and about which some of his most tender verses were written. The necessary funds were readily contributed and all arrangements made for the burial in the Moravian graveyard in Salem.

Dr. Marcus Benjamin, editor of the publications of the United States National Museum, a warm personal friend, was requested to accompany the remains. They left Washington City Saturday evening, arriving in Winston-Salem on Sunday morning.

Sunday afternoon the old bell in the belfry of the Home Church rang out its invitation to the many friends to gather for the purpose of paying a last sad tribute to the departed.

The auditorium was filled to its utmost capacity, ground floor and galleries. The service was conducted by Bishop

Rondthaler, and on either side sat Dr. Benjamin and Mr. W. A. Blair. On the upper platform were seated Governor Glenn, together with Reverends Hall, Pfohl, Cocke, Watts, Lilly, Barnhardt, and Conrad. In the audience were gathered a number of the relatives of the deceased, and also friends from other sections, as well as representatives from all parts of our city.

A brief history of the life of the deceased was given by Bishop Rondthaler. Then Dr. Benjamin spoke in part as follows:

In the little volume of poems entitled "Whispering Pines" there will be found these words:

With half-shut eyes I dimly see
A picture dear as life to me—
The place where I was born appears—
A little town with grassy ways
And shady streets, where life hums low
(A place where world-worn men might go
To calmly close their fading days).

One simple spire points to the skies
Above the leafy trees. I hear
The old Moravian bell ring clear,
But see no more—tears fill my eyes.

The poem closes with the pathetic wish, so characteristic of those of Southern birth:

But by God's good grace,
Where'er it be my fate to die,
Beneath those trees in whose dark shade
The first loved of my life are laid
I want to lie.

It is in consideration of this wish, so clearly expressed, that, on behalf of the many friends and admirers of John Henry Boner, I have the very great honor of transferring to your custody the remains of him who has been so appropriately called "North Carolina's first man of letters."

Let me especially emphasize the recognition accorded to John Henry Boner by his fellow poets. Edmund Clarence Stedman, who has honored this memorial by his service as honorary president, spoke of Boner as that gentlest of minstrels who caught his music from the whispering pines. Thomas Bailey Aldrich, who shares with

Mr. Stedman the highest rank among living American poets, has borne pleasant testimony to the excellence of Boner's verse. Bliss Carman wrote: "I think the sonnets are fine, stirring, manly, and superbly executed." Maurice Thompson is quoted as saying, "Such verse is an embodied charm, a joy forever"; while Mark Twain said, "I wish I could put into words my admiration of it and my delight in it without seeming extravagance."

Tennyson has written: "For a poet can not die," and so now that we have brought him back to you, I beg that you will guard the remains and lovingly cherish the memory of him who was ever so loyal to his people and to his State. He is with you once more, and in his own words I leave him:

Back in the Old North State,
Back to the place of his birth,
Back through the pines' colonnaded gate
To the dearest spot on earth.

Governor Glenn followed with a brief but very earnest and sympathetic address. He paid a tender tribute to the memory of the departed, claiming that he was truly a great man. It is not necessary to be a great military leader or a great statesman to be a great man. Whatever the calling, a man is great if he is true to his convictions and does good for others. The Governor continued his remarks by saying he did not wonder that Boner wished to be brought home and to be buried in the beautiful Salem graveyard. "If there is one thing for which I envy the Salem Moravians, it is their graveyard, in which Boner is about to be buried."

Mr. W. A. Blair followed by reading a few selections from the poems of the deceased. This part of the memorial service had a marked effect upon the audience, many being deeply moved as the reading progressed.

The services within the church being concluded, the procession moved to the front of the sanctuary, and, led by the church band, moved up Church Street into Cedar Avenue. Many recalled the poem which Boner wrote concerning this same spot, in which he says:

Full many a peaceful place I've seen,
But the most restful spot I know
Is one where thick dark cedars grow
In an old graveyard cool and green.

The way to the sequestered place
Is arched with boughs of that sad tree,
And there the trivial step of glee
Must sober to a pensive pace.

Gathered around the open grave the large concourse of friends listened to the burial service. The grave is near the main entrance, just south of the gate. On the casket was a beautiful wreath given by the Typographical Union of Washington. Representatives of the press of our city stood near the grave, and when Bishop Rondthaler solemnly uttered the words: "Now to the earth let these remains in hope committed be," all reverently bowed their heads as the casket slowly descended into the grave, its final earthly resting-place.

A pure white marble slab was placed upon the grave as soon as it was filled, and on this slab is the following inscription, the last line being written of him by his good friend Edmund Clarence Stedman:

JOHN HENRY BONER,
BORN IN SALEM, N. C.,
JANUARY 31, 1845.
DIED IN WASHINGTON, D. C.,
MARCH 6, 1903.

*That gentlest of minstrels,
who caught his music from the whispering pines.*

SELECTIONS FROM BONER'S POEMS.

THE LIGHT'OOD FIRE.

When wintry days are dark and drear
 And all the forest ways grow still,
 When gray snow-laden clouds appear
 Along the bleak horizon hill,
 When cattle all are snugly penned,
 And sheep go huddling close together,
 When steady streams of smoke ascend
 From farm-house chimneys—in such weather
 Give me old Carolina's own—
 A great log-house, a great hearthstone,
 A cheering pipe of cob or briar
 And a red, leaping light'ood fire.

When dreary day draws to a close
 And all the silent land is dark,
 When Boreas down the chimney blows
 And sparks fly from the crackling bark,
 When limbs are bent with snow or sleet
 And owls hoot from the hollow tree,
 With hounds asleep about your feet—
 Then is the time for reverie,
 Give me old Carolina's own—
 A hospitable wide hearthstone,
 A cheering pipe of cob or briar
 And a red, rousing light'ood fire.

POE'S COTTAGE AT FORDHAM.

Here lived the soul enchanted
 By a melody of song;
 Here dwelt the spirit haunted
 By a demoniac throng;
 Here sang the lips elated;
 Here grief and death were sated;
 Here loved and here unmated
 Was he, so frail, so strong.

Here wintry winds and cheerless
 The dying firelight blew,
 While he whose song was peerless
 Dreamed the drear midnight through,
 And from dull embers chilling
 Crept shadows darkly filling
 The silent place, and thrilling
 His fancy as they grew.

Here, with brow bared to heaven,
In starry night he stood,
With the lost star of seven
Feeling sad brotherhood.
Here in the sobbing showers
Of dark autumnal hours
He heard suspected powers
Shriek through the stormy wood.

From visions of Apollo
And of Astarte's bliss,
He gazed into the hollow
And hopeless vale of Dis;
And though earth were surrounded
By heaven, it still was mounded
With graves. His soul had sounded
The dolorous abyss.

Proud, mad, but not defiant,
He touched at heaven and hell.
Fate found a rare soul pliant
And rung her changes well.
Alternately his lyre,
Stranded with strings of fire.
Led earth's most happy choir
Or flashed with Israfel.

No singer of old story
Luting accustomed lays,
No harper for new glory,
No mendicant for praise—
He struck high chords and splendid,
Wherein were fiercely blended
Tones that unfinished ended
With his unfinished days.

Here, through this lowly portal,
Made sacred by his name,
Unheralded, immortal,
The mortal went and came.
And fate that then denied him,
And envy that decried him,
And malice that belied him,
Have cenotaphed his fame.

THE CLIFF.

(Pilot Mountain, Surry County, North Carolina).

See yonder cliff—how ghastly bare!
Lightning has torn its rugged face.
It looks like one whom curséd care
Has robbed of every peaceful grace.

Yet how sublime! How proudly still!
Barren and thunder-beat and drear,
Behold the unconquerable will,
Dead to emotion—love or fear—

Unchanging when the rising sun
Gilds its high head with heavenly light,
Or when the red moon breaks upon
Its brow across the gulf of night.

THE WOLF.

The wolf came sniffing at my door,
But the wolf had prowled on my track before,
And his sniff, sniff, sniff, at my lodge door-sill
Only made me laugh at his devilish will.

I stirred my fire and read my book,
And joyed my soul at my ingle-nook.
His sniff and his snarl were always there,
But my heart was not the heart of a hare.

I cursed the beast and drove him away,
But he came with the fall of night each day,
And his sniff, sniff, sniff, the whole night through
I could hear between the winds that blew.

And the time came when I laughed no more,
But glanced with fear at my frail lodge door,
For now I knew that the wolf at bay
Sooner or later would have his way.

The Fates were three, and I was one.
About my life a net was spun;
My soul grew faint in the deadly snare,
And the shrewd wolf knew my heart's despair.

A crash, and my door flew open wide;
My strength was not as the beast's at my side;
That night on my hearthstone cold and bare
He licked his paw and made his lair.

THEOPHILUS HUNTER HILL.

HENRY JEROME STOCKARD.

At Spring Hill, near Raleigh, in the home of Theophilus Hunter, his maternal grandfather, was born, on October 31, 1836, this gentle North Carolina poet. His great-grandfather, also named Theophilus Hunter, was a Lieutenant in the Revolution. His father, William G. Hill, was an eminent physician, and his grandfather on that side of the family, William Hill, was for more than forty years Secretary of State of North Carolina.

Young Hill's early training fell largely to an aunt, Miss Eliza Hill, who later conducted a private school in Raleigh. As a youth he entered the Raleigh Male Academy while it was under the direction of that distinguished educator, J. M. Lovejoy; and in due time he entered the State University. He remained at Chapel Hill only a short time, circumstances preventing him from finishing his course there.

On his return to Raleigh he read law under Judge Fowle, and in 1858 received license to practice. He never followed his profession, though, his whole affections leaning toward literature.

His verses began to appear in the local papers when he was a youth. Some of these "Earlier Poems" were gathered into his first volume, and they reveal—in "The Sunbeam," for instance—a remarkable poise for a young writer. A quotation from the lines in question is to the point:

Welcome! bright celestial ray!
Where thou dwellest it is day;
When thou wanderest afar—
When I hail the evening star,
Then, sweet sunbeam, I shall see
But a burning type of thee!

While he early dedicated his life to the Muse, he soon discovered that she is a precarious dependence for a livelihood, and so turned to other things whenever the occasion demanded. At one time he was State Librarian, a position especially to his liking and one which he filled most acceptably. Then he was for awhile connected editorially with *The Spirit of the Age*. He was editor of *The Centenary*, published at Florence, S. C., but did not change his residence from Raleigh during the brief engagement. He represented several book concerns, yet during his whole life his allegiance to poetry never wavered.

He was twice married: first to Miss Laura Phillips of Northampton County, N. C. The children of this marriage are Theophilus H. and Frank E., both living now in New York; and Miss Rosa, of Raleigh. The second wife, who survives, was Miss Mary Yancey of Warren County. The only child of this union, Tempe, was recently married to Mr. Carraway of Waynesville, N. C.

Hill was a life-long Democrat, and kept fully informed upon the questions of the day. He was never a bitter partisan, however, nor did he ever seek or hold a political office. He was a member of the Methodist Church and was a steward for a number of years. He never united with any secret organization, though his father was an active Mason, the William G. Hill Lodge in Raleigh having been named after him.

My personal acquaintance with the poet extended over a half dozen years, but I knew him intimately only two or three years prior to his death.

An erect figure with almost military bearing; the average man in height and size; bronzed features; gray moustache and hair; dark eyes and firm mouth, responsive each to the moods of his spirit—that was the man as I knew him.

He loved the woods, meadows, and fields. It was my privilege to go with him on strolls now and then, and I was struck with his familiarity with the wild flowers. In the

midst of our conversation he would stop short and, pointing to some shy bloom that always had escaped my notice, would give its name and history. He knew the haunts of the wild ferns and so enjoyed their companionship that he sought to domesticate them in his garden at home. The birds were acquaintances of his and he has paid sympathetic tributes to them in his lines. In a word, he had the poet's love of Nature and the poet's perception to interpret her language.

He had a retentive memory, and had stored it up with treasures of poesy. In these rambles he would quote readily and liberally from the masters; and, while he had his favorites, as all lovers of art have, his quotations revealed extensive reading. Tennyson, Poe, Swinburne, Keats, Coleridge—all poets of chaste diction and melodious cadences—these charmed him. Any poem of this quality, be its author known or unknown, always found an enthusiastic admirer in him.

He would read aloud to his family at night, and could render with keen appreciation the thoughts and feelings of his favorite authors. These favorites he read and re-read—not only the poets, but the masters of fiction—Dickens, Thackeray, Scott, etc. Poe's *Tales* impressed him scarcely less than did the poetry and criticisms of that strange genius.

One of the most interesting matters connected with the life of a literary man is his correspondence with kindred spirits. Hill was in touch with a number of writers—Paul Hayne, Henry Timrod, John R. Thompson, George W. Cable, Joaquin Miller, Elizabeth Oakes Smith, J. C. Harris, and others. His letters from Hayne verged into friendship. The publication of some of these would make interesting reading. Mrs. Oakes Smith, who was a resident of our own State and who was a woman of intellectual attainments, sent him this fine original poem:

"We often adore one that is unconscious of it, and do not fail to preserve inviolable fidelity, although the object of it knows nothing of it."—PASCHAL.

O my Poet, thy sweet wording,
Like the wind harp's weird unrest
New and mystic notes affording,
Waked response within my breast—

Answer to an angel calling—
Knock of angel heard of yore
On my midnight silence falling,
And I rise to ope the door.

Canst thou need me in thy soaring?
Let me lean upon thy wing—
Light, and Love—and Youth adoring,
Lo! we touch the self-same string—

Asking naught in earth or heaven
But sweet meetings in high space,
Where sometimes a cloud is riven
And we see the other's face.

Angels touch their strings of fire
In response to answering string—
So we wake the sacred lyre
With a love for those that sing.

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

HOLLYWOOD, August, 1887.

George W. Cable, in the course of a friendly letter, writes:
"Your religious things are most lovely! Do tell me who you are, and where you have been all this time."

Part of a letter from Joaquin Miller runs as follows:

"You have built on the only solid foundation: the granite foundation of the Prophets of God. Poet, Prophet, Priest—these are all one word."

Joel Chandler Harris, writing at length of a rather caustic criticism upon Hill's first volume, contributed to the *Farm and Fireside*, has this to say:

"I notice in the *Farm and Fireside* some weeks ago, a sketch of you, and a notice of your poems, by a preacher! Is he a very particular friend? If not, 'call him out.' Or—

der 'pistols and coffee for two' and make him 'eat his words' and the paper they are printed on. * * * I shall have to review your book yet, I'm thinking, before you get justice done you."

Figuratively speaking, Hill did "call out" his reviewer: he wrote a conclusive reply and published it where the criticism appeared—and "the incident was closed."

These are representative quotations and must suffice. The list might be extended easily beyond due proportion, and from the material at hand there is great temptation to do so.

He was a careful writer. There is a strong impulse when one has written something and is under the inspiration of it to hurry it away to the press. Not so with Hill. He never wrote unless his theme had complete possession of him, and his revision was slow and merciless. The result was, whatever he put forth had the full sanction of his judgment; and, having set his own approval upon it, he cared not a whit if the world refused to accept it. His own faith in his work was unshaken. As evidence of this he republished in his latest collection, practically unchanged, all but four of the poems in his first volume, and three of these were among his "earlier poems."

Whenever the impulse to write came he obeyed—rising at night—pausing on the street—sitting down in his walks—he would note down his fancies, on an old envelope or scrap of paper, developing them into poems sometimes, sometimes laying them aside never to be taken up again.

The light measures pleased him particularly—trimeter and tetrameter; rarely did his muse strike the majestic pentameter pace. His "Sunset" and "Shadow of the Rock," however, prove he was at home in this measure also. And he preferred the trochee and iambus, though an occasional anapest or dactyl tripped into his line, as in his charming "Ideal Siesta," which really has an anapestic effect:

Every murmur around dies into my dream,
Save only the song of a sylvan stream,
Whose burden set to a somnolent tune,
Has lulled the whispering leaves of June.

The dactyl prevails in his "St. Valentine's Day":

Hidden no longer
 In moss-covered ledges,
 Starring the wayside,
 Under the ledges,
 Violet, pimpernel,
 Flashing with dew,
 Daisy and asphodel
 Blossom anew.

He handled the dissyllabic rhyme wondrously well—a fact that is strong proof of his skill in versification; for English is poor in such rhymes and it requires no slight craft and vocabulary to mate them nicely with their fellows. Take this couplet from "Narcissus":

Hapless child of Air and Tellus!
 Thou that madest Juno jealous!

or this:

Swiftly sped the sparkling river—
 Sped the silvery Cephissus—
 Like an arrow from the quiver
 Of the beautiful Narcissus.

His diction is rich, melodious—in a word, poetic. Euphonious phrases, gentle cadences—these he sought studiously. No better illustration of this phase of his work could be cited than his "Ganges Dream," a poem the poet regarded as his most artistic work:

Such gorgeous pageant have I seen
 Drift down the Ganges, while I stood,
 Within the banian's bosky screen,
 And gazed on its transfigured flood:
 Around each consecrated bark
 That sailed into the outer dark,
 What lambent lights those lanterns gave!
 What opalescent mazes played,
 Reduplicated on the wave,
 While, to and fro, like censers swayed,
 They made it luminous to glass
 Their fleeting splendors ere they pass!

The entire poem is too long to quote, but a few individual lines, chosen here and there, illustrate further the above remark:

"A haze of crimson halo hung"
"In gloomier eddies of the stream"
"Distended by Sabeian gales"
"Till shallop after shallop flew."

Mythology and classic allusion and imagery—all prime colors in the poet's art—entered into his pictures. The "Narcissus," mentioned above, is a mythological theme.

This stanza is from "Stella":

My spirit caught the hallowed beams
That fell on the enchanted air;
Nor to Endymion, in his dreams,
Were Dian's half so fair.

While he used metaphor and simile occasionally, and always with good effect, he depended mainly upon tone-color, so to speak—upon the correspondence between sound and sense.

The quotations generally introducing his poems reveal breadth of interest. These texts, as it were, are from a wide range of sources—from the Bible, from Chatterton, Keats, Read, Tennyson, Poe, Montgomery, Willis, Hayne, Spenser, Wordsworth, Milton, Carlyle, etc.—but, strange to say, rarely if ever from the master of them all, Shakespeare. His poems, therefore, deal with varied themes. There is keen satire in "King Hebitude's Embargo," a poem not included in any of his volumes; "Willie," written in memory of a lost child, is informed with pathos; "The Song of the Butterfly" is athrill with joy; intense love of nature pervades "The Sabbath of the Spring"; religious fervor breathes through "The Star Above the Manger," probably his best-known poem; a nimble fancy is wrought into "Fireside Fancies"; joy, love, and remorse are the major chords respectively in "Spring," "Angela," and "Anacreontic." While his song is nearly always of a serious vein, occasionally he sounds a note of humor. A few of his poems in one of his volumes

are so characterized, though his best work of this nature has not appeared in book form. One of these late poems opens thus:

I am one of the world's unfortunate ones—
Unable to pay and bedeviled by duns.

Another, descriptive of a bird, has a line somewhat like this:

The lilt of his song and the tilt of his tail.

No criticism is fair either to the subject or to the writer that does not take into consideration both faults and excellencies; and for this reason alone this word is introduced.

Hill had his masters, and possibly permitted his work at times to reflect too clearly their teachings. Poe's influence particularly can be felt, if not traced, in some of his lines—not to the extent of plagiarism, at all; not, indeed, beyond proper bounds in any poet greater than Poe. Then, too, he lacked individuality; but the same is equally true of the vast majority of poets: individuality is an exceedingly rare quality. It may be said of some of his poems, "This is worthy of Tennyson, this of Poe, this of Wordsworth." And so, if he did not discover any poetic sphere, he gladdened those already opened up, and therefore his writings are a benediction.

He issued three slender volumes: "Hesper, and Other Poems," from the press of Strother & Markham, Raleigh, 1861; "Poems," published by Hurd & Houghton, New York, 1869; and "Passion Flower, and Other Poems," brought out by P. H. Wiley, Raleigh, 1883. The first was dedicated to Jordan Womble, Esq., and was the first book of verse to appear under copyright of the Confederacy. His "Poems" was dedicated to Rev. Charles F. Deems, D. D.; and his "Passion Flower" to John H. Boner. Just before he died he was arranging his work for a final volume containing all poems he wished to survive, and was in correspondence with publishers to this end. Such a collection would include

some of the poet's very best work, among which would be his prophetic "Eventide," written just before his death—a worthy close to a noble life:

AT EVENTIDE.

The end of my journey is nearing,
But the twilight that darkens my way
Has brought neither doubting nor fearing
The hope of my heart to dismay.

I have wrestled with guilt and with sorrow—
Bitter sorrow—the shadow of sin—
But I dread not the night nor the morrow,
Nor wish that I had never been.

Vain visions my folly once cherished—
False idols my soul had enshrined;
Thank God! they are utterly perished—
My spirit no longer is blind!

When nothing but ruin was left me,
In the madness that followed their flight
I was grasped by the hand that bereft me—
The hand that has led me to light.

The life that is only worth living
The Giver of life has bestowed;
His cross I now bear with thanksgiving,
Nor pray that He lighten the load:

The crown of His thorn-coronation
No mortal is worthy to wear;
Yet, sharing His humiliation,
Even I in His triumph may share;

For I know that His mercy endureth,
Else it never had waited for me;
His life my salvation ensureth,
And thine—for He waiteth for thee.

As of old, ever new the sweet story
Of Christ, the Redeemer of men;
When grace is transfigured to glory
May we sing it together again!

Hill died at his home in Raleigh on June 29, 1901, and was buried in Oakwood Cemetery. Mainly through the

efforts of his friend Boner, a portrait of him, painted by his daughter, Tempe, was presented to the State Library and now hangs upon its southern wall.

Below will be found three poems selected to illustrate his style, thought, and melody:

A GANGESE DREAM.

Freighted with fruits, allush with flowers—
Oblations to offended powers—
What fairy-like flotillas gleam,
At night, on Brahma's sacred stream;
The while, ashore, on bended knees,
Benighted Hindoo devotees
Sue for their silvery, silken sails
The advent of auspicious gales.

Such gorgeous pageant I have seen
Drift down the Ganges, while I stood,
Within the banian's bosky screen,
And gazed on its transfigured flood:
Around each consecrated bark
That sailed into the outer dark,
What lambent lights those lanterns gave!
What opalescent mazes played,
Reduplicated on the wave,
While, to and fro, like censers swayed,
They made it luminous to glass
Their fleeting splendors ere they pass!

O'er each, as shimmering it swung,
A haze of crimson halo hung,
Begirt by folds of billowy mist,
Suffused with purpling amethyst:
From these, still fainter halos flung,
Lent each to some refracted zone
Hues of a luster not its own,
Till, satellite of satellite,
Eluding my bewildered sight,
In gloomier eddies of the stream,
Retained no more a borrowed beam:
Thus, one by one, their sparkling sails,
Distended by Sabeian gales,
I saw those votive vessels glide,
Resplendent, o'er the swelling tide,
While each, with its attendant shade,
Or dusk, or radiant ripples made;

These flashing into fiery bloom;
 Those smouldering into garnet-gloom!
 All this I saw, or else, at night,
 Pursuing Fancy in her flight,
 I paused beneath what seemed to be
 The umbrage of a banian-tree,
 And down the Ganges of a dream
 Beheld that gay flotilla gleam.
 It seems to me but yesterday
 Since off the beach of Promise lay
 The brilliant barges Hope had wrought,
 And young Desire had richly fraught
 (Alas! how soon such tissues fade!)
 With fragile stuffs, whence dreams are made!
 Proud owner of that fleet, I stood,
 Gazing on the transfigured flood,
 And saw its constellated sails,
 Expanded by propitious gales,
 Till shallop after shallow flew—
 As fresher yet the breezes blew—
 In joyous quest of full fruition,
 To swift and terrible perdition.

Some in life's vernal equinox.

O'er desperate seas to wreck were driven;
 And others struck on sunken rocks,

Or, in the night, by lightning riven.

Burned to the water's edge: while they

That, not unscathed, but still unshattered,

Survived the storm, were widely scattered:

One only kept its destined way.

To sink—no friendly consort near—

In sight of port, at close of day.

When seas were calm and skies were clear!

THE STAR ABOVE THE MANGER.

"And lo, the star which they saw in the East went before them till it came and stood over where the young child was."—ST. MATTHEW II: 9.

One night, while lowly shepherd swains

Their fleecy charge attended,

A light shone o'er Judea's plains

Unutterably splendid.

Far in the dusky Orient

A star, unknown in story,

Arose to flood the firmament

With more than morning glory.

The clustering constellations, erst
So gloriously gleaming,
Waned when its sudden splendor burst
Upon their paler beaming:

And heaven drew nearer earth that night—
Flung wide its pearly portals—
Sent forth from all its realms of light
Its radiant immortals:

They hovered in the golden air,
Their golden censers swinging,
And woke the drowsy shepherds there
With their seraphic singing.

Yet Earth, to greet her gala day,
No jubilee was keeping;
Unconscious of the light, she lay
In silent beauty sleeping.

No more shall brightest cherubim,
And stateliest archangels,
Symphonious, sing such choral hymn—
Proclaim so sweet evangel:

No more appear that star at eve,
Though glimpses of its glory
Are seen by those who still believe
The shepherds' simple story.

In Faith's clear firmament afar—
To Unbelief a stranger—
Forever glows the golden star
That stood above the manger.

Age after age may roll away,
But on Time's rapid river
The light of its celestial ray
Shall never cease to quiver.

Frail barges, on the swelling tide,
Are drifting with the ages;
The skies grow dark—around each bark
A howling tempest rages!

Pale with affright, lost helmsmen steer,
While creaking timbers shiver;
The breakers roar—grim Death is near—
Oh, who may now deliver?

Light—light from the Heraldic Star—
 Breaks brightly o'er the billow;
 The storm, rebuked, is fled afar,
 The pilgrim seeks his pillow.

Lost—lost indeed, his heart must be—
 His way how dark with danger—
 Whose hooded eye may never see
 The Star above the Manger!

THE SABBATH OF THE SPRING.

"The flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land."—CANTICLES II : 12.

A glorious change is come to pass;
 An April sky is overhead;
 A glistening emerald tints the grass,
 And flowers are rising from the dead.
 A laggard still, though other trees
 Have donned their vernal liveries,
 The dainty ash at length receives
 Her graceful garniture of leaves:
 In floral ermine, white as snow,
 The dogwood and the hawthorn glow,
 And, bursting from their icy prison,
 The golden buttercups are risen!

Aroused from their hibernal sleep,
 The jacinth and the crocus leap
 Into the lap of Spring, and bare
 Their scented bosoms to the air:
 With downcast eye and mien demure
 The pensive snowdrop, pale and pure,
 Seems listening to an ardent wooer;
 Later from Winter's realm to sally,
 The loitering lily of the valley
 Begins to bud: and sweeter yet
 The darling, blue-eyed violet,
 Who—cloistered in the twilight shade
 Which her luxuriant leaves have made—
 By her own breathing is betrayed.

Above me now the honeyed cells
 Of purple Persian lilac bells
 Pulse perfumes on the wandering breeze,
 And lured by these,
 The golden bees
 Are come, with hummings of the hive.

Till every cluster is alive—
Till all their bells together chime
With murmurs drowsier than my rhyme—
 More softly somnolent than those
That wooed, from Hybla's beds of thyme
And clover-gardens in their prime,
 The weary to repose.
At noon—as tipsy as the bees—
 The languid zephyrs lie
Around these nectared chalices,
 Unwitting how to fly;
For O! the luscious lilac flowers,
 While giving sigh for sigh,
Breathe opiate balm that overpowers
 The triflers till they die!

Blush-tinted petals of the new
Peach-blossoms lend a rosy hue
To fields that widen on the view,
 To where—withdrawn into a mist
Of crimson haze and amethyst—
The sky puts off its living blue.

The wingèd choristers of air
Are making music everywhere;
Ere dawn emerges from the dark
Are heard the matins of the lark;
The thrush sings in the hazel brake;
The mocking-bird is wide awake;
The blithe hedge-sparrow chirrup by;
The swallows twitter in the sky;
And faintly—far adown the glen—
Is cheeping now the russet wren;—
 Birds, bees, and flowers,
 Sunshine and showers,
To grace and gladden hill and plain.
Bring Sabbath to the world again!

W. G. RANDALL.

R. L. GRAY.

The life-story of the late W. G. Randall is a page in which the sorrows and disappointments are so illuminated by unquenchable bravery and enthusiasm as to give the completed narrative the tone of that most perfect tragedy which moves to its curtain with the definite touch of completion in the incident of death. The soul of tragedy, after all, is personal courage mixed with the faith that knowingly and with appreciation of its impotence faces the inevitable with a shout. The dark waits for all, happy or sorrowful, weak or strong. The mere passing into the shadow is a common-place. When, hastened by fate along the road, one sends back from the dark a laugh, defeat becomes achievement. Randall was so brave that death must have been apologetic in his presence.

A country boy, in dire poverty, uneducated and stung with the half-baked resentment of youth against hard conditions, Randall might have made of his life an easy groove in which he would soon have calloused against the perception of pain. As it was, with the fine defiance of his soul, he chose deliberately to cultivate and nourish the ability to feel. In this design he acted with the instinctive assurance of self-knowledge. Another man might have counted the cost, might have hesitated at difficulties. Randall, in the mountains of Burke County, with three dollars in his pocket, put his grip on his back and walked from the valley of his life into the world with the confident amaze of a child and the fire of a crusader. Put face to face with unknown conditions he walked up to them with a modesty that was almost diffidence and yet with the certainty in his heart that he would cope with them in the end. Through all his life, checkered with disappointment and grief and burdened with weakness of body, Randall still

kept fast to the secret of his power, waiting with infinite patience for its recognition, but satisfied in its possession.

Consider yourself without means and without friends going forever to a far country because there, perhaps, there may be happiness and content. How would you go about it? What inquiries would one make, how the objections would present themselves, how the doubts would crowd about! How would you go about it? On whom would you rely? How you would hesitate and question and delay. Randall knew the way to go was to pack grip and leave. He went, this country boy, out into the world to the University. He knew there one student. Somehow he seems to have hung to him as the thread of his impertinence in the face of odds. He had no money. He was not prepared. He could not even ride on the railroad. Yet he had heard that the University was the place to go to learn to be what one felt that he must be. It was the palace of dreams in the midst of the desert. Immeasurably was it far distant, incalculable were its difficulties. Yet it was the concrete of ambition. And the world, after all, was small. He would walk. At least had God given him legs. Time was but a speck in eternity, distance a measure of miles. The poor have plenty of time and toil is the same the world over. In his own account of these things Randall states the facts without introspection. Impulse is built on argument, but it leaves no trail. It was simply a matter of going, of weary trudging through the cold over illimitable roads, of cramped and chilling rest by the wayside, of the stolid determination which discards thought as so much unnecessary luggage. It is only the men who are not used to battle who can adequately describe the conflict. The real participants have been too busy to remember more than the inconsequential details. They are not far enough away to catch the grandeur of the picture.

Yet it would be a fine thing to translate the backward look of the boy leaving home, to sound the sudden chill which follows on the execution of new purposes, to picture the strang-

ling of the last doubt and the swallow in the throat as he faced the road. Divided as it is with crises, life faces each recurring decision with a perennial sense of its finality.

So Randall came to the University, timid and alone. Somehow he managed to stay. He worked and studied and grew. Under the influence of brighter lives there wore away the old idea of unjust discrimination, of resentment against his lot. He became happy in feeling himself expand. Faith came to him calm but glorious. He worked and worked. He endured passively with knowledge that he would succeed. His spirit softened and glowed. His courage was no longer stubborn and impulsive; it was a still and patient light. Seeing that he must wait, he believed the more in himself as he perceived the difficulties more clearly. At the University, as during his whole life, Randall was frankly poor and as frankly proud. He would do almost anything for the little money that he needed, but he feared charity as he did nothing else. Yet even in his pride, he knew how to receive and when to deny. His gratitude maintained its dignity; it invariably involved a return. Randall was happiest when he could give. His gifts held the same wonder as his achievements.

You must remember that this man was an artist. Always he had sketched and drawn pictures. The mountains spoke to him in parables of beauty; through the evening mists the dim outlines of their bulging crowns hinted to him the unformed shadows of his hopes. The streams told him the wonder of their ceaseless variation of rhythm. The colors of the woods, the vague tones of purple and gray distances, the poignant green of Springtime, the pure nakedness of Winter, the vivid glories of morning and sunset spoke to him ceaselessly of color and romance—told him with all the seductive mystery of nature that, like the stream, he might translate, tricked the ultimate word to his lips and held it, lured his eye to guess the riddle of the shadows and held him gasping on the threshold of knowledge. It was a large picture that

Randall dreamed. Towards it, even if on hands and knees, he set his life to the advance. Always, working his way through college, working his way also with mysterious devices through winters of art-school instruction, working still to get the means to work some more, Randall lived two consistent things: the present as a means to the certainty of the future.

When all is said, he lived such a life as is pleasant if sad to think on. He knew nothing of the prosaic. He loved with a passion as high as his ambition. He felt with a keenness which responded to a breath. He knew the love of a wife who nursed the fires of his hope, who labored by his side, who bravely smiled with him at sorrow. He knew paternity and the cruel thrust of death through a dead child. He saw his own death coming yet a long way off. Calmly he regarded it and worked on. For years, shaken with weakness, he warded off the end that he might work, battled hopelessly for time in which to achieve that destiny of which he never had a doubt. Randall never had the opportunity to express himself except in his life. His art, that held so much of talent that it might have struck fire with genius, failed to get upon the canvas. Yet, inchoate, it passed in the heart of the man in which it lived yet did not die. Unrealized and unspoken, it was its master's deathless faith.

Many portraits remain behind with the name of Randall upon them. Some of these hold the gleam of the painter's hope. They are hung in the State Library, in the Supreme Court room, at the Normal and Industrial College, and in the galleries at the University. He had a special talent for the portraiture of men advanced in years. The pictures of Maj. Charles M. Stedman, of the late Bishop Lyman, of Daniel R. Goodloe, the uncle of his wife, seem almost as though their lips would open and speak. The talent which went into his work would have been a great reward for talent; perhaps the value of the gift and the hint that here and there elusively speaks from its expression lay in that

frank yet modest inspiration which dared to look at genius with eager eyes.

For awhile Randall lived in Washington, but he loved his State with all the ardor of his sensitive and sorrow-tried soul. He thought of North Carolina as another man might have thought of a sweetheart. There was a tenderness about his patriotism which was distinctive. He came to Raleigh. His studio here was often closed on account of his illness. Still he tried to work. Many will remember him, his slight figure, his keen, emaciated face, the blaze of eyes softened with the wistfulness of pain, the tender flutter of the smile about his lips. Finally he was banished to Arizona; but there was no surcease of his suffering. He came back to North Carolina. At Blowing Rock, near to the valley of his boyhood, he sat and waited for the end, working as he could, dreaming still and dauntless to the gasp. Coming back to the place he loved, his high spirit went away with the veil of mountain mists which with tenuous fingers of cloud had beckoned him away to the land beyond the summit.

Randall's poverty has here been emphasized because he made of it a clear-eyed choice for the sake of that Art to which he responded as shadow to cloud. He did not need to be poor. Early in his career he occupied a chair in the faculty of one of the most prominent Texas colleges. That was but the means to his end. Randall saw his way. He pursued it one-thoughtedly from the day when with his grip across his back he went over the mountains till he returned to wait among them for the ending of the path.

Of those things which call to men from the dim recesses of dead hearts none is so alluring, none so forbidding to face, none so dazzling with promise or tardy of return as that which men call "Art." What is art is a question the repetition of which has incited books which only served to increase the riddle. Here considered, it is impulse and not performance, the desire and not the expression, the seedling

dreams in the fertile soul of youth which will either perish or monopolize its soil. For art is not generous, if obeisant. It will have all or none. And, in character, its return is either dole or largess. There is no half-way ground. Who heeds the glittering challenge of her star makes of his life a tiny craft upon a boundless ocean. Haply, he drives with buffets of the winds to lands of golden apples; perchance he grounds upon a sandy shore in sight of waving trees with shade denied; or he is overwhelmed in open sea, but bright above the curling grapple of the wave he sees again and takes into the dark the gleam.

And Art, the insatiable devourer, the mocking mistress, the lover rich in jewels of price or pallid-faced with hunger, beckons right and left, to the rich and to the poor; and who hears must answer, or perish in the end a clod whose soul has dwindled to a doubt. Art summons without distinction. Many can not afford to go. They have their livings to make. They are plain men with no time to chase the mirage. Art is frank. Wrecks lie naked in her path. Follow, and the risk assumes the magnitude of prophecy; stay, and the memory of the call is as a drug to effort. Succeed without her, and there is left but the multiplied reproach of a stifled thing.

Always is there impulse in the journey, but when one must work for the chance to follow, when in poverty and in pain and stumbling he gasps and staggers on amid temptations—that is to be brave.

Regardless of accomplishment, the truest test of an artist is that he should work manfully at alien tasks in order that he may follow his bent, the while he sees ahead with certain faith unconquerable.

Never was a braver man or a truer artist.

J. R. B. HATHAWAY.

J. BRYAN GRIMES.

A year ago James Robert Bent Hathaway passed away at the home of his son, Dr. B. W. Hathaway, at Merry Hill, Bertie County.

Mr. Hathaway lived a long and honored life, and no son of North Carolina has ever shown a more reverent and tender attachment for his Mother State or done her greater service.

The last years of his life were his most useful ones, and he spent them in laborious but devoted toil in restoring the forgotten records of the early pioneers of Eastern Carolina and resurrecting from oblivion's tomb the memories and fame of those who made and guided the destinies of our infant colony.

Notwithstanding difficulties that seemed insurmountable, without being properly appreciated, he labored incessantly in the midst of self-denial and pecuniary losses to preserve the fame of his native land.

For several years he had worked and spent his best efforts towards the publication of *The North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*.

He was our greatest genealogist, and at his death was recognized as the leading authority upon the genealogy and colonial history of the Albemarle and Pamlico sections.

Of the purpose and scope of his work let his own pen speak in the introductory pages at the beginning of his book:

With this issue of *The North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register* we enter upon a comparatively new and undeveloped field of journalism in North Carolina.

To write history accurately, under the most favorable circumstances, is a very difficult task, rendered much more so when those who made it have all passed from the stage of action to the silent

cities of the dead. We may repair to the cemeteries and, pressing close to the portals of the tomb, ears acutely tuned to catch the faintest whisper that falls from human lips, ask the sleepers there, who they are, whence they came, what they did. But alas! the oppressive silence is broken only by the echo of our words, wafted back by the wind, as it sings through the waving grass and rustling leaves a requiem for the repose of those who sleep beneath. We must turn to what has been written to learn their history. Sad, but true it is, here we find that fire, social convulsions, moth and rust, the destructive agents of time, have in many instances done well their work, and left illegible the records our ancestors recorded with their own hands and attested with their seals.

Time is a remorseless iconoclast. The most sacred idols are ruthlessly broken in his flight, and the tenderest ties severed by his stroke. He rules with stern decrees and an iron hand; sooner or later all things earthly must yield to his scepter. The flower blooms but to wither at his touch; the sturdy oak in conscious strength spreads forth its branches only to be riven by his fiery bolt, or wrecked by the fierceness of his blast. Man is born but to die, and the epitaph of human life may be written in a few brief words, first the cradle, then the grave, with a short space between, seldom barren, often filled with weeds and thorns, sometimes laden with luscious fruits and golden grain. Character alone defies his keenest blade, and laughs in triumph as the centuries march to their inevitable doom; for when all the monuments of human greatness shall have faded into oblivion, yea, when the granite hills and the firmly-rooted mountains shall have waxed old, and melted upon the funeral pyre of time, Character, adorned with all that is pure and good, will rise Phoenixlike from his ashes to grasp immortal honors, that will shine with increasing luster while the cycles of eternity roll their successive rounds.

It will be our province to glean from the public records of the eastern counties of North Carolina, as well as from those of the adjoining counties of Virginia, the history of those who severed the ties of friendship, blood, and home, in the Old World, to brave the perils of the deep and the greater perils of the wilderness, to lay the foundations of a social fabric that has become the pride of every North Carolinian and the admiration of her sister States in the great constellation which forms the American Union.

To the rude log-houses scattered here and there on the banks of the watercourses along the Atlantic seaboard may be traced not only the genealogy of the State, but that also of the Republic. In the rebellion against unjust taxation and oppressive laws, shortly after the establishment of the colony in North Carolina, were sown the seed which fruited in 1776 in the successful struggle for liberty and independence, out of which sprang the Republic full-panoplied, ready to take her place among the nations of the earth. From a narrow

strip of land on the Atlantic Ocean, it has developed into a vast empire, extending from where perpetual winter locks all nature in its icy embrace to where perennial spring infuses its genial breath into bursting bud and opening flower; from where the first rays of morning light gild the towering spires of our eastern cities, to where the evening shadows fall upon the golden gates of the far-distant west, whose varying climate and rich domain invite the oppressed of every nation to come and dwell, where bounteous harvests reward the toil of the diligent, and labor finds a competency for the "winter of old age," and above all, where all the blessings of "Civil and Religious Liberty" can be enjoyed, abridged only in social enjoyments by laws designed to elevate to a higher plane and destiny her citizens.

We shall tell of the birth of their children, the marriage of their sons and daughters, the successes and distinctions they achieved in life, silently cover with the mantle of charity their faults, and speak reverently and respectfully of the fall of the curtain in the last act of the drama of life, remembering that the foundation of our present civilization so well and solidly laid, is and will ever continue to be the credit of those who laid them, while posterity can alone claim the credit for the improvement and development of the rich legacy they bequeathed.

The solid, sturdy characters of those who wrought well in life will be elevated to inspire with a laudable ambition the youth of the State to emulate their virtues and write upon history a name that will go down to the latest period of time. The foundation of character is laid in the early years of life, by careful pruning and by constant and diligent cultivation. The shattered dreams of youth, the ruined hopes of manhood and blasted fortunes of maturer age, left in the wake of time in his onward sweep, like gruesome wrecks, warn of neglected opportunities and a failure to improve the moments as they swiftly fly.

We place the inspiration before the youth of the country, to burn its way deep into their minds and hearts and shoot through every nerve and fiber of their being a flame of intense and earnest desire to achieve that success in life commensurate with the opportunities and possibilities by which they are surrounded, and present to the world a solid, substantial manhood, reflecting credit upon their sires and themselves, and leaving a heritage to posterity more to be desired than great riches.

With these words of introduction, we cast upon the tide of time the fruits of our labor, to be borne by its current to the homes of a generous public, upon whose appreciation we confidently rely for a patronage sufficiently liberal to make a success of the work we have undertaken.

Eleven numbers of this work were published.

Among the most important publications in their long list of contents may be mentioned the Abstract of Wills probated prior to 1760, compiled from originals in the office of the Secretary of State at Raleigh.

Abstract of Land Grants for Chowan County, compiled from originals in the office of the Secretary of State.

Abstract of Conveyances from the office of Register of Deeds for Chowan County.

Abstract of Conveyances of Real Estate in the town of Edenton.

Abstract of Wills from Clerk of Court's office in Chowan County.

Abstract of Court Records, beginning in 1670, from Clerk of Court's office, Chowan County.

Marriage Bonds, Chowan County.

Edenton Tea Party.

Abstract of Bertie County Wills.

Abstract of Bertie County Marriage Bonds.

Items from Bertie County Court Records.

Records of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in Berkeley Precinct, afterwards Perquimans Precinct.

Abstract of Perquimans County Wills.

Abstract of Perquimans County Marriage Bonds.

Records of Perquimans Precinct Court.

Abstract of Tyrrell County Marriage Bonds.

Miscellaneous Records of Albemarle and Bath Counties and of the Proprietary and Royal Governments of Carolina.

Roster of the North Carolina Troops in the Continental Line.

Family Records of many of the most prominent families in North Carolina.

In addition to these there are hundreds of miscellaneous notes full of most interesting and valuable historical material relating to the Albemarle and Bath country.

Mr. Hathaway found much lost history. Himself of gentle birth and ancient lineage, he took a deep interest in family records, and his tireless research has traced the ancestry of hundreds who were ignorant of their forbears.

In the face of all impediments he has done much work and in his declining years and delicate health he has erected a monument that will endure with the history of North Carolina.

Of his last years let his old and venerable friend, Colonel Creecy, speak:

* * * He was a born ethnologist. He studied the past with the plain and honest purpose of making us acquainted with our ancestry. That great and pious task was the glory of his useful old age. He was truly the "Old Mortality" of Albemarle. He rechiseled the fading lines of our old forgotten gravestones and introduced the present generation to its forgotten fathers. He revived the memory of the dead past. He brought back to us the ideals of our past glorious history. How well his work was done all of us know who have read his truthful genealogy of the old families of Albemarle.

Mr. Hathaway's latter years were the crowning ones of his life. Disease made great inroads on his energy, and many a page of this magazine was written when his body was racked and torn with pain, but the light of his mind burned bright and he never faltered, preferring to die "in harness." He was, to my mind, his own best example of his idea of fortitude expressed to me some years ago in the following sentence:

"Fortitude is one of life's most useful lessons, certainly one of the most difficult to learn. It is taught so beautifully and impressively by the ferns as they bloom in the glens and dells of the forest: their leaves are brightest when the wind blows coldest and where the shadows fall the thickest."

As we look back along the course by which our friend guided his life, we can not but think that he learned well its lessons, however difficult they may have been. And so when the summons came that was to take him to join "the choir invisible" of those he had long wished to question, he was able to "wrap the drapery of his couch about him and lie down to pleasant dreams."

JAMES SPRUNT.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

It is a very trite saying that North Carolina has always made history, but never written it; but, like many sayings equally trite, it is true. In no State of the Union has there been such a disregard for the history of such events and men as should be a source of pride to all North Carolinians and an example for all generations to come. It occurs to the writer with force that perhaps Virginia and South Carolina unwittingly told the truth when in derision they dubbed North Carolina "Rip Van Winkle." It must have been that she was asleep, wrapped in dreams of her past, which, when waking hours came, slipped from her mind as she gave her attention to the action that the time demanded. That she could wake to action was abundantly proved from 1861 to 1865, and no accusation of the contrary has since been brought against her.

To-day her people are beginning to awake to a consciousness of the importance of preserving some record of her past, to find that many records are lost for all time and to lament, all too late, that lost opportunities seldom return. With this consciousness, however, comes a determination to preserve what yet remains for posterity, and as a consequence of this feeling, there is now more historical study and research in the State than ever before; there is more knowledge of State history, and consequently deeper patriotism and greater State pride.

So far local history has attracted most of the attention of writers. This is natural and fortunate, for as the local history is written the way is cleared for a general treatment of the State history and material is furnished to the writer, most of which would otherwise be inaccessible.

Among the number of those who are showing their interest in North Carolina history, Mr. James Sprunt of Wilmington is prominent. He is a native of Glasgow, Scotland, but came to North Carolina when only six years of age and is a loyal and devoted son, albeit an adopted one, of North Carolina.

Mr. Sprunt's early education was received in Glasgow and, after he came to North Carolina, at the Grove Academy at Kenansville. Later he was sent to Mr. Jewett's school and also studied under the Rev. Mr. Mengert. He was prepared for the University of North Carolina, but his father found it impossible to send him there, and he went into business about the time he was sixteen years old. But he is naturally studious and has been all his life a wide and careful reader and has at different times specialized where he felt any deficiency. In consequence the loss of a college education has not been the deprivation that it would otherwise have been to a man of his tastes.

When the Civil War broke out he was too young to serve in the army, but having made a close study of navigation, he desired to enter the naval service of the Confederacy, but was unable to obtain an appointment. Therefore, when offered an appointment as purser of one of the blockade-runners, he accepted and sailed to Bermuda in the famous "Ad-Vance." He then became purser of the "North Heath" and made one unsuccessful voyage. He was taken with fever upon his return and was ill for some time. Upon his recovery he became purser of the "Lilian," under Captain John N. Maffitt, C. S. N., and made four successful voyages. Finally, in August, 1864, the vessel was surrounded by four Federal cruisers and sunk, and all on board became prisoners of war. Mr. Sprunt was detained at Fort Macon and Fortress Monroe for about eight months, but was then released and became purser of the "Susan Beirne," another blockade-runner.

When the war closed, he engaged in the cotton business with his father. Success has attended his efforts and an

immense and wonderful business is the result of his wisdom and energy. His firm has fifty-three direct agencies in foreign countries and its immense volume of business has made Wilmington the fifth cotton port in the United States.

Mr. Sprunt has been British Vice-Consul since 1884, succeeding his father in that position. Acting in this capacity, when the Cuban war vessel "Cuba" was seized and dismantled at Wilmington by the Federal authorities, he prepared for the British Government a full report of the case, which was highly complimented by Lord Salisbury. It is of interest to know that when Captain Maffitt later took command of the "Cuba," he offered Mr. Sprunt the position of executive officer.

As might be imagined, Mr. Sprunt has taken a prominent part in the life of his community and has held many important positions. He has been Secretary of the Wilmington Lyceum, President of the Y. M. C. A., President of the Seamen's Friend Society, President of the Produce Exchange, Chairman of the Board of Commissioners of Navigation and Pilotage, and a member of the committee for the city schools. He has also been for many years a trustee of the University of North Carolina.

The foregoing has given a slight sketch of Mr. Sprunt's life; but it is chiefly in reference to his literary and historical work that this paper is written. What he has produced is of such a character as to make those familiar with it wish that all his time might be given to writing. It is to be hoped that in the future he will devote more time to literary work.

He writes in a style distinctively his own and with a quaint directness which charms the reader. Combined with this, he is possessed of a keen historical perception, has the power of analysis coupled with a sense of proportion, always treats a subject without prejudice, and is exceedingly accurate and painstaking. The Lower Cape Fear naturally has attracted most of his attention and has furnished the subject of most of his historical work.

His first work of the kind was a large pamphlet which he published in 1883 when he retired from the presidency of the Produce Exchange. Entitled "Information and Statistics of Wilmington, N. C.," it collected and gave many facts of historical importance.

In 1896 he published a work which was more historical in character and more literary in treatment, "Tales and Traditions of the Lower Cape Fear." The book, as its name implies, was not intended to be critical history; its object was to awaken interest in the subject of the Cape Fear region and to preserve those traditions which, handed down for many years by word of mouth, lend a charm to any locality to which they relate, and notably so, as far as concerns North Carolina, in the case of the Cape Fear country. This object has been attained, for the book has been widely read and has lent new impetus to the study of the proud history of the Lower Cape Fear.

Two years later he published an interesting little pamphlet entitled "A Colonial Apparition." This is historical fiction of the most interesting kind.

In 1901 he wrote for the first volume of the *North Carolina Booklet*, "Tales of the Blockade of the Cape Fear." This subject he is peculiarly fitted to treat, and in the same year he contributed to the *North Carolina Regimental History* an article of considerable length on the subject, entitled "The Blockade-Running of the Cape Fear." This account of blockade-running out of Wilmington would be valuable under any circumstances, for it is an accurate and interesting contribution to that important part of the history of the Civil War. But as it is the only account we have of blockade-running in North Carolina, and one which includes much incidental history of the conditions existent at the time, it is invaluable. An interesting and valuable part of the article is a long list of blockade-runners and their pilots. This is information that could not be obtained even now, and Mr. Sprunt has performed a valuable service in preserving it.

The article also includes a short biography of Captain Maffitt and of several other men prominent in the history of the blockade. It is a matter of regret that it has never been published separately. The importance of the blockade-running has never been fully appreciated, and a full history of the part that Wilmington played in it would be very valuable. No man could write it as well as Mr. Sprunt, and it is to be hoped that he may yet undertake the work.

The same year two addresses which Mr. Sprunt had delivered before the North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames at Old Brunswick were published by the Society. They were "Old Brunswick" and "Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington." Both are accurate and scholarly and form another valuable contribution to our history.

Mr. Sprunt has written memorial monographs on the occasions of the death of three of Wilmington's most distinguished and valued citizens, namely: Hon. George Davis, formerly Attorney-General of the Confederacy, David G. Worth, Esq., and Dr. A. J. DeRossett.

Recently he has prepared "A Blockade-Runner's Yarn," which is to this time unpublished.

The *North Carolina Booklet* in its announcement of the coming volume mentions as one of the articles for July, "A Colonial Admiral of the Cape Fear," being a sketch of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland by Mr. Sprunt.

Within the past year Mr. Sprunt has written some verse of genuine merit and of great sweetness. The writer is permitted to publish for the first time those that follow. Of these, "The Bell-Buoy" is probably the best, but as a word-painting "The Wilderness" compares with it most favorably. All are of such quality as to cause the wish that they may not be the last to come from his pen:

THE BELL-BUOY.

Alone upon a troubled sea,
To rock and ring responsively,
I stand without while others fly
To seek the friendly haven nigh.

My voice is heard by those who weep
For sailor sons upon the deep,
Who heed me not, nor breakers' roar,
When wind and tide sweep on lee-shore.

Throughout the day, throughout the night,
On pinions spread in endless flight,
The bells on countless ships at sea
In answering echoes come to me.

Sometimes the crested hurrying swell
Engulfs and chokes this wide-mouthed bell;
But in the hollow troughs I ring
And on the wind exult and sing.

Whene'er the moaning of the bar
Forebodes a storm, or stress of war,
I toll upon the hungry sea
In muffled tones most dismally
For those I strived in vain to save
Who went unshrived to a watery grave.

When storm and tempest rage and wail,
My warnings rise upon the gale
In doleful tones which seem to be
The misereere of the sea.

And when the sea gives up the dead
From secret caverns of its bed,
Then God's deep bells will silence me
Into a vast eternity.

THE WILDERNESS.

Come away from the strife and the toil of the weary :
There's a nip in the air on the beach and the wold ;
 The fall tides are rising,
 The marsh hens are stirring,
The Frost King is gilding the green sedge with gold.
Come away to the forest now lighted with torches,
Aflame with the blush on the Autumn-kissed trees,
 Where dead leaves are falling,
 And bob-whites are calling,
And tall pines are singing the song of the seas.
And the voices that blend in the old ocean's surges,
 As the rainbow appears in the midst of the spray,
Are repeating the story that has come down the ages,
 That the seed-time and harvest shall be ever and aye.

VOICES OF THE SEA.

When in the East the morning-star
 Grows paler in the radiant light,
I hear sweet voices from afar
 Like those which sang on Bethlehem's height,
And when the effulgent Sun appears
 And changes darkness into day,
These voices which dispel night's fears
 Are wafted o'er the rippling bay.
At noon they murmur sweet and low
Across the sea, while soft winds blow
In gentle cadence dear to me :
'Tis Nature's holy reverie.
At evening when the day is done
They sing of victories that were won
By faithful hearts in service given,
Whose pathway shows the way to Heaven.
And when the night comes on apace,
The glorious stars join in their praise
To Him from whom all blessings flow,
To those who honor Him below.
When storm and tempest rage and wail,
These voices rise upon the gale
In moans and cries which sadden me,
The miserere of the sea.

But it is not alone as a writer that Mr. Sprunt has taken a part in the literary life of North Carolina. In addition to writing himself, he has always been ready with his means to encourage others to write. Some years ago he endowed a series of publications known as "The James Sprunt Historical Monographs." These are published under the auspices of the Department of History in the University of North Carolina and furnish a way for the University to render useful to the public many valuable archives and papers in its possession. This, it is to be hoped, will prove an example to others, and similar foundations will be made in the years to come. This one itself has already rendered good service to the study of North Carolina history and is destined to become more important as interest in the subject is aroused.

To this time six monographs have appeared. They are:

No. 1, published in 1900. "Personnel of the Convention of 1861," by John Gilchrist McCormick, A. B. "Legislation of the Convention of 1861," by Kemp P. Battle, LL.D. This is an interesting and valuable work, and is probably the best of the series. The first part contains biographical sketches of all the officers and members of the Convention of 1861, and the latter part has much material hitherto unpublished regarding the work of the convention, written by Dr. Battle, who was a member of the convention.

No. 2, published in 1900. "The Congressional Career of Nathaniel Macon," by Edwin Mood Wilson, A. M. This contains many letters of Nathaniel Macon and Willie P. Mangum.

No. 3, published in 1900, contains "Letters of John Steele, Nathaniel Macon, and William Barry Grove."

No. 4, published in 1903, contains "Letters and Documents Relating to the Early History of the Lower Cape Fear," with notes by Dr. Battle.

No. 5, published in 1904, contains "Minutes of the Kehukee Association (Baptist). Letter of Joel Battle Fort," with notes by Dr. Battle.

No. 6, published in 1905, contains "Letters and Journal of Rev. Elisha Mitchell."

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

GOVERNOR R. B. GLENN.

North Carolina's progress is phenomenal. The traveler along our railroads may see the wonderful amount of building being done, as well as the large enterprises already completed or now in course of construction, and will fully realize how rapidly our resources are being utilized. A journey also through the country districts shows the same degree of thrift and prosperity, for never before in our State's history were the farmers in better condition and living in such a state of comfort and plenty.

It is easy, however, to boast of a success that might prove a shadow without any substance. The best way to prove our marvelous growth, agriculturally, industrially, educationally, and morally, is to take the reports made to our various departments and from them gather the true state of facts.

From hundreds of letters sent out by the *Manufacturers' Record* of Baltimore, as well as our Agricultural Bureau, we find that the value of real estate in the last few years has advanced in most counties in North Carolina from fifty to one hundred per cent, and that the lowest advance quoted is twenty-five per cent. These reports also show the farmers hard at work, contented, economical, learning to diversify their crops as well as save their earnings, thus becoming self-sustaining and no longer existing at the mercy of the speculators and of those from whom they buy their supplies.

Trucking, once a luxury, later a diversion, has grown to mammoth proportions. No soil and no climate are better adapted to the early fruits and vegetables, while geography seems to have chosen the trucking farms of North Carolina as the favored spots in the way of seasons. Florida is earlier, but her favored crops do not interfere with those of this State.

At the time when the first Florida crops fail, those of the Carolinas are in full fruitage. They fit into season at the time when sales are easy and prices good. They come late enough to avoid any great danger of destruction. They grow in a climate that mysteriously gives to the growing things the touch and taste of nature's excellence.

Of late years almost the entire eastern section of the State has learned the value of the trucking industry. The people have come to study their lands intelligently and to raise their crops in accordance with scientific principles. The result has been a marvelous increase of wealth in the counties which are fitted for trucking. Throughout the entire eastern section the raising of berries, watermelons, lettuce, early cabbages, and truck of all descriptions is carried on in the early months of the spring by both large and small growers with great profit. In some cases, small gardens even pay their owners a return of several hundred dollars for a few weeks' cultivation.

As an illustration of the vast quantities of berries and truck which are being yearly shipped from an ever-increasing territory, perhaps the figures from the town of Chadbourn, a place of not more than six hundred inhabitants, may best serve to illustrate the progress of what is in reality an industry yet in infancy. From this little town, the center of a small trucking area, there were made in one year the following shipments at the rates given:

548,700 crates strawberries.....	\$1,097,418
126,570 packages beans, etc.....	116,570
80,000 packages lettuce.....	120,000
11,443 crates strawberries.....	22,886
162,000 barrels Irish potatoes.....	225,025
90,916 packages of cantaloupes.....	136,370

A total value of.....\$1,718,269

Despite the fact that for years the immense timber resources of the State were practically given away by the people, who were led to sell invaluable timber rights for a song in order to get the land itself cleared for agricultural purposes,

there yet remains within the State enough timber to bring at the present prices money sufficient to add a vast sum to the capital of the State. It is equally true that while the people themselves did not give sufficient importance to this industry, and while thousands upon thousands of acres of timber in the eastern part of the State were destroyed in the turpentine industry, the real value of the State's timber reserves was, to a degree, recognized simultaneously by outside capital and home owners. As a result many fortunes have been realized and prices have advanced by leaps and bounds. Not only is the long-leaf pine an object of solicitude on the part of the lumber interests, but the great forests of the mountain-slopes, the hardwoods, the oak and chestnut and hemlock and hickory and other profitable woods, are now being bought in large quantities and either cut or held for future markets. Nor is the short-leaf pine and the timber of the eastern swamps neglected. In all of this activity is marked an era of new industry and the coming of more capital and the building of better homes and higher civilization.

In the assessed value of property in the South, the increase was from five billions two hundred and sixty millions in 1900 to six billions one hundred and ninety-one millions in 1905. In this increase Texas leads with one hundred and sixty-eight millions. North Carolina comes next with one hundred and thirty-seven millions. Georgia is third with eighty-eight millions and the other States much less. The percentage of increase for the whole South was seventeen per cent, while in our State the percentage was forty-one per cent and in Texas only eighteen per cent, giving us a percentage over all.

In 1904 there were raised in North Carolina about six hundred thousand bales of cotton, and our own manufactories consumed more than was made.

In 1890 the gross value of farm products was \$50,370,638, while in 1905 it was nearly ninety-five millions.

Our manufactured products were, in 1890, \$40,375,450, and more than one hundred millions in 1905.

In 1890 we had only 3,354 looms and 149,899 spindles, while in 1904 we had 46,612 looms and 2,178,944 spindles, making us, according to the report of the president of the Manufacturers' Association, the third State in the Union in the number of looms and spindles, and certainly with more mills than any other State.

From the report of the Secretary of State we find that for the year ending December, 1904, there were chartered 540 corporations, while at the end of December, 1905, there were 695, showing a most encouraging increase both in the number and value of industrial enterprises.

The report of the Commissioner of Labor shows that the capital invested in mills in 1904 was \$32,806,580, as against only \$18,661,412 in 1900. This report further shows ninety-eight furniture factories employing 6,628 employees, their high-class labor averaging \$2.15 per day, and \$2,368,398 being invested in this business. North Carolina is the second State in the country in the manufacture of furniture, and High Point the second largest furniture manufacturing town in the world, Grand Rapids, Michigan, alone surpassing it.

We have eighty-six tobacco factories and thirty-seven cigar factories, giving us the second place in the manufacture of chewing and smoking tobacco. These factories used last year 68,502,499 pounds of leaf tobacco and paid internal revenue taxes amounting to \$4,994,968.

The wealth of the State as shown in its banking industry alone is a revelation. In November, 1904, there were in the State one hundred and eighty-three State banks with resources amounting to \$31,604,183, while in November, 1905, we had two hundred and thirty-eight banks with resources of \$41,095,539, an increase of fifty-three State banks and \$9,491,356 in resources. Of National banks there are forty-eight with a capital of \$3,850,000 and assets of \$25,942,832.

Under a strict supervision and officered by men who have not yet been touched with any dream of finance beyond that of the just reward of common honesty, these financial institu-

tions are blessing and aiding almost every town in the State, and others are being daily organized.

The Whitney Company, located at the Narrows of the Yadkin, is spending \$7,000,000 in erecting an electric plant, second only in power to the plant at Niagara Falls and sufficient to operate the mills in all the country for hundreds of miles around.

At other points, notably the Roanoke Rapids and the Falls on the Cape Fear and Catawba, great plants are being developed. Through the transmission of electrical energy from these central points the industrial regions they will create will be the most economical in the world.

An authority estimates the water-power of the State to be 3,500,000-horse power. There is scarcely a community in the State outside the low coastal plains in which there is not some water-power available, capable of furnishing industry with the best and cheapest power—the electric current. On the Roanoke River there is a fall of eighty-five feet in a distance of about nine miles; on Deep River there is a fall of twenty-seven feet in a very short distance. There are numerous other powers on the same stream now driving the machinery of more than a dozen prosperous mills. On Haw River there are a number of cotton mills, and the two best powers on that stream are still undeveloped. On the Catawba there are a number of splendid powers, one developing a fall of thirty-seven feet.

The cost per horse-power by steam is stated to be about fifty dollars per annum. Electrical power produced by water costs at the most only half of that amount.

Other sources of great wealth in the eastern and central portions of the State are, in the east, the old and well-established business of fisheries, which give employment to a largely increasing number of people and have acquired a widening market for their products. The fisheries are largely dependent on the supply, although there are needed wise and conservative laws to protect their product.

In the central and piedmont sections the great tobacco manufacturing plants have grown to gigantic proportions through years in which they have made their sections rich and famous.

The west is coming to rely more and more each year upon itself. Asheville is already world-famed. Its hotels every year attract—and once they attract they hold—thousands of visitors. Waynesville and Hendersonville are filled every season with seekers after pleasure and health.

Outside of the great natural asset of its timber the west holds opportunities for various industries. Among these are mining, cattle-raising, fruit culture. The apples of the mountains grow in an abundance which is almost a reproach to husbandry. They should be made into an industry which would in a few years stagger the State with its magnitude and its profits. Already there are immense tanneries.

In minerals it has long been said that the State of North Carolina produced them in greater variety than any other. That is still true. The great western discoveries have retarded development in mining, but there has in late years been a revival which is being conducted sanely yet profitably. Mines of graphite and monazite just discovered are proving very pure in quality and of immense value. New methods of treating gold ores have robbed the placer works of their monopoly. And gold is to-day profitably mined in the State. It is in mica and kaolin, however, and in the great quarries of granite and marble that we may perhaps look for the most profitable and largest development within the next few years.

Almost challenging the west is the development in the central portions of the State. There are towns built up in a few years, magnificent hotels, great reaches of estates which depend almost entirely upon the Northern visitor for support. Such places as Southern Pines and Pinehurst are of benefit to the State in ways far beyond the incidental increase of taxable values and the money that is left within our borders by the tourists. They win new citizens and inspire the old to new efforts.

The fruit industry in the sandhills, the great nurseries of Guilford, the vineyards that are coming to dot with green foliage and luscious fruits spaces hitherto barren, comprise returns flowing from the sandhills that may not be reckoned for generations.

Insurance companies, both life and fire, with large capital, are being established in every section of the State and are doing an immense business.

The great railroad systems are branching out all over the State and the time has come when private roads, organized by home capital, are developing unopened sections at a profit to their promoters.

Educationally, also, our progress has been in excess of anything heretofore ever dreamed of. The University is overerowed, the Agricultural and Mechanical College demands new dormitories to accommodate five hundred more students, the Normal and Industrial College is compelled to close its doors to new applicants, while the denominational and private institutions are filled to their utmost capacity.

The work also in the public schools is simply marvelous. The people throughout the country have awakened to the need of education. In 1904 three hundred and sixty-seven good school-houses were built, and in 1905 four hundred and thirty more were added, making a total of seven hundred and ninety-seven in two years. Teachers are better prepared, terms are made longer by local taxation, and the children are more thoroughly taught than ever before.

Nature has blessed us most wonderfully. Our soil produces every variety of crops. Life-giving waters burst from thousands of springs. Our climate is neither too hot nor too cold. We have no scourges such as yellow-fever and cholera; no cyclones, blizzards, or earthquakes. We need only sufficient capital to develop our mighty resources and sufficient labor of the right kind to work on our farms and in our mills and mines to enable us to take our proper place in the Nation according to our area and population.

Morally we likewise have progressed. Seventy counties in the State have prohibition, some dispensaries, and a few high license. In many of our large cities no license to retail liquors is granted, and where once were saloons are now good business houses, and instead of drinking and drunkenness we see sobriety and industry. Law and order prevail throughout the State. There is no graft among our people. Peace and plenty abound and there is no reason why we should not enter into the year 1906 with happy and contented hearts and ever grateful to the Author of all good for our wonderful progress.

Let us take no backward step in this year, but let the rich present only prove the beginning of a still more glorious future.

THE STORY OF FIVE YEARS' PROGRESS IN PUBLIC EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA—1901 TO 1906.

J. Y. JOYNER,

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

In the history of every State and every Nation there are fruition periods during which the seeds sown through the long years are warmed into life and quickened into growth and come with almost startling suddenness into rich and splendid fruitage. To the future student of the history of North Carolina the five years from 1901 to 1906 will probably appear as such a period in the development of public education in the State.

One who has been permitted to bear some small part in this development and who has seen in it the partial fulfillment of hopes long delayed and of prayers long unanswered, may not tell the story of it in the calm and sober language of unimpassioned history, but he will undertake to relate as truthfully and briefly as he may the unadorned tale of the educational progress of a remarkable period. In the history of North Carolina these five years will probably stand illustrious among their sister years for industrial, educational, and moral progress. In the march of civilization these three sorts of progress travel together—in fact, seem bound together by the unbreakable bond of cause and effect. It is the province of this paper, however, to discuss only the educational progress of the period.

It has been an era of good feeling among all the educational forces of the State, and these forces have worked in harmony for the advancement of the common cause of the people's schools.

In February, 1902, representatives of all the educational forces of the State—public, private, denominational, univer-

sity, college, high school, primary, and intermediate school—met in the office of the Governor in Raleigh at the call of the director for this State of the Southern Education Board, and at the expense of that Board, to take counsel together and plan a vigorous campaign against ignorance. They entered into a solemn compact to make ceaseless war against it and issued a declaration against illiteracy that rang like a bell in the night through all the State. Around the standard raised in this righteous cause other forces quickly rallied—preachers, editors, lawyers, doctors, professional men, business men of all sorts, laboring men, and the plain people everywhere. Few, if any, have deserted the standard and the recruits have been many.

The educational movement that had been slowly but surely gathering force for years received from this meeting and the influences that went out from it a new and mighty impetus. Immediately afterwards, through the aid of funds kindly supplied by the Southern Education Board, a campaign for education under the direction of a campaign committee appointed by the conference mentioned above, consisting of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Governor, and Dr. Charles D. McIver, President of the State Normal and Industrial College and Director of the Southern Education Board, was inaugurated in all sections of the State. The work was directed through the office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The only connection of the Southern Education Board with it was the generous donation of funds for the payment of expenses. This campaign has since been carried on without interruption wherever and whenever speakers could be effectively used. In addition to the Governor and the Superintendent of Public Instruction, who have spent all the time that they could spare from their office work in this campaign, it has been participated in by scores of speakers, including teachers, preachers, lawyers, politicians, and public men, business men and private citizens. The actual expenses of speakers taking part in this

campaign, with the exception of the Governor and the Superintendent of Public Instruction, have been paid out of funds placed at the disposal of the Campaign Committee by the Southern Education Board. The work of these speakers has been supplemented by the press, which has been very active and practically unanimous in its advocacy. It has also been supplemented by numerous educational bulletins issued and widely distributed from the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The most marked and distinctive progress in education in North Carolina in the last five years has been:

1. The erection, improvement, and equipment of public school houses and the establishment of a large permanent loan fund for these purposes.
2. The establishment of rural school libraries.
3. Local taxation in small towns and rural districts.
4. Enlargement of school districts by consolidation of small districts.
5. Better classification and gradation in the rural schools.
6. Increased efficiency in county supervision.
7. The organization and coöperation of the women for the betterment of the public schools.
8. North Carolina Day and the growth of the literary and historical spirit.

In 1903 the General Assembly established a permanent loan fund to aid in building, improving, and equipping public school houses, appropriating to this purpose all the funds then in the hands of the State Treasurer from sales of swamp lands belonging to the State Board of Education and all the funds that should thereafter be derived from the same source.

HOW BETTER SCHOOL-HOUSES HAVE BEEN BUILT.

Under the provisions of the act this fund was placed under the control of the State Board of Education to be lent by that Board, under such rules as it might adopt, to County Boards of Education, and by them in turn to school districts for the

purposes mentioned. The loans are payable in ten annual instalments and draw four per cent interest, which is payable annually. The State Board of Education is secured absolutely against loss by making the loan a lien upon the total school funds of the county and by authorizing the State Treasurer, if necessary, to deduct a sufficient amount for the payment of it from any fund due any county from any State appropriation to the public schools of the county. The County Board of Education is secured absolutely against loss by vesting in it the authority to deduct from the annual apportionment to any district to which a loan has been made the amount of the instalment and interest due. There is, therefore, available annually for loans one-tenth of the entire loan fund, the annual interest on the entire fund, and the annual additions to the fund from the sale of swamp lands. This fund now amounts to \$283,000. Under the rules adopted by the State Board of Education, not more than half the cost of buildings and grounds will be lent to any district. All houses must be built according to plans approved by the State Superintendent, and preference of loans is given to rural districts, special tax districts, and consolidated districts. This loan fund has thus been used to stimulate local taxation, consolidation, improvement in the character of school-houses, and self-help in raising funds for building.

The sum of \$224,053 has been lent to 592 districts in 83 counties. With the aid of these loans 488 new houses, valued at \$569,570, have been built. For every dollar of this fund invested in public school property nearly two dollars have been invested by the county and district, much of which has been raised by private contributions from the people.

The loan fund is increasing annually at the rate of four per cent compound interest, plus the additions from the sale of swamp lands. These swamp lands are annually increasing in value. Through a wise use of this fund, therefore, it ought to be possible within a reasonable time to get and to retain in every rural school district in the State a comfortable, modern, well-equipped public school house.

Building and improving public school houses was also greatly stimulated by an amendment to the Public School Law by the General Assembly of 1903, providing that a certain per cent of the school fund of each county, varying according to the total amount of school fund of that county, might be set aside as a building fund, placing the building of all school-houses under the control of the County Board of Education, and directing that all houses should be built in accordance with plans approved by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the County Board of Education. Under the direction of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction plans for public school houses from one to eight rooms in size were prepared by competent architects in accordance with the most approved principles of modern school architecture. These plans, with the cuts of the floor plans and houses, full specifications, and complete bills of material for each building, were printed in pamphlet form and distributed from the office of the State Superintendent. Any intelligent carpenter can construct any house in the pamphlet from the directions contained therein.

ONE NEW SCHOOL-HOUSE A DAY EVERY WORKING DAY FOR
FIVE YEARS.

As a result of the establishment and use of the loan fund and of these amendments to the School Law regulating the building of school-houses, and of the demand of educated public sentiment for better houses, there has been during this period a remarkable increase in the number of school-houses built and repaired and a wonderful improvement in the character and value of these houses. From 1900 to 1905 1,567 new public school houses have been built. In 1905 alone, 440 new school-houses were built, the average value of which was \$425. In 1900 there were 950 log school-houses in North Carolina and 960 districts without houses. In 1905 there were only 559 log school-houses and 486 districts without houses. In 1900 \$40,011 was spent for building and

repairing school-houses; in 1905 \$261,630.06 was expended for the same purposes. The expenditures for these purposes in 1905 were more than six times those for the same purposes five years ago. During the five years ending June 30, 1905, the total value of the public school property was increased from \$1,153,311 to \$3,203,141.74, an increase of \$2,049,830.00.

600 PER CENT INCREASE IN BUILDING EXPENDITURES.

These figures show that during this period of five years more than one school-house a day for every working day in the year has been built, the value of the public school property in North Carolina has been nearly trebled, and the annual expenditures for building and repairing school-houses have been increased about six hundred per cent. The character of these houses has been greatly improved, the number of log houses has been reduced 391, and the number of districts without houses has been decreased 474. The equipment of the houses has been improved in proportion to the improvement in the houses. All of the new houses are now equipped with good blackboards, and most of them with patent desks.

PUTTING GOOD BOOKS WITHIN REACH OF EVERY CHILD.

In 1901 an appropriation of five thousand dollars was made by the General Assembly for the establishment of rural libraries. In 1903 this appropriation was increased to \$7,500, \$2,500 of which was for supplementing and maintaining the libraries already established. There is now a biennial appropriation, therefore, of \$7,500 for the establishment of rural libraries and the maintenance of libraries already established. Under the rural library law, the county appropriates for the libraries ten dollars, patrons of the school are required to raise ten dollars by private subscription, and the State, upon notification that the sum of twenty dollars has been thus raised, appropriates ten dollars, making

a total of thirty dollars for each library. The County Board of Education is required to provide a neat bookcase with lock and key for each library. Under a similar plan, fifteen dollars is available for supplementing the libraries thus established, five dollars from the district fund, five dollars from the patrons by private subscription, and five dollars from the State.

These libraries are available only to rural districts or villages of less than one thousand inhabitants. They are managed by a librarian during the session of the school and during vacation in accordance with rules and regulations prepared by the State Superintendent. The books must be selected from a list approved by the Superintendent of Public Instruction printed and distributed in pamphlet form from his office. This list contains about 300 of the best books, representative of all departments of good literature, some of them adapted to children of various ages and some of them adapted to adults. Under the act, 1,259 rural libraries have been established, costing \$40,875 and containing approximately 113,208 volumes.

In addition to these, 107 libraries have been established by private subscription without any aid from the State appropriation. Durham County has, through the generosity of General Carr, a library in every school district. These libraries are distributed among all the counties of the State, the maximum number biennially available to each county being limited. Perhaps no progressive step yet taken in public education in North Carolina has proved more popular and more beneficial than the establishment of these rural libraries. Even under the present act, it ought to be possible within a few years to have at least a thirty-dollar rural library, enlarged and supplemented every two years by a fifteen-dollar supplementary library, in every public school in North Carolina. These thousands of books, masterpieces of thought and feeling and style, are daily going into hundreds

of homes, many of them bookless homes, bearing to young and old their messages of hope, love, beauty, wisdom, knowledge, morality, reverence, religion, and joy; cultivating a taste for good literature, forming the reading habit, and leaving in their wake a touch at least of that higher culture which comes only from communion through books with the greatest minds and souls of the ages.

LOCAL TAXATION THE SECRET OF PROGRESS.

During this period of five years 301 local tax districts have been established. In 1900 there were only thirty local tax districts in the entire State. January 1, 1906, there were 331 special tax districts distributed among 77 of the 97 counties. Two hundred and sixty-eight of these districts are entirely rural or include only small villages of less than one thousand inhabitants. In 1905 the sum raised by local taxation for public schools was \$338,414.33. When we remember that in 1900 there were only thirty local tax districts in the entire State, that during the past five years there has been an increase of 301, and during the past year an increase of 101 in the number of special tax districts; that 268 of these districts have been established in distinctly rural communities, that they are scattered from the mountains to the sea, that every district established under favorable conditions becomes a standing object-lesson for the establishment of others, there is much reason to rejoice in the growth of local taxation and to hope for such a multiplication of local tax districts within the next few years as will make possible a good school in every district of reasonable size in the State.

CONSOLIDATION OF SMALL DISTRICTS.

With a fixed school fund in each county to be divided among a number of districts and schools, those interested in public education realized that, as a simple business proposition, the smaller the number of districts and schools in the

county the larger the amount of money that would be available for each district or school for better houses, longer terms, better salaries, and more efficient work. An examination into the facts convinced them that there was in this State an unnecessary multiplicity of small districts and one-teacher schools. A movement was, therefore, set on foot to abolish by consolidation a number of these unnecessary little districts in the interest of economy, better classification, and more efficient work. As a result of this movement to reduce the number of districts or schools in each county to the smallest possible number consistent with the right of each child to be within reasonable reach of some school, the number of school districts in the State has been reduced during this period of five years 345, representing probably the abolition of at least 1,000 little districts. In some counties and in many townships there has been a complete redistricting. As another result of consolidation and enlargement of districts, there has been a large increase in the number of public schools with two or more teachers and a consequent increase in the number of public schools giving advanced and, in some instances, high school instruction.

BETTER CLASSIFICATION AND GRADATION IN THE RURAL SCHOOLS.

Through the enforcement in the rural public schools of a carefully prepared course of study for the first seven grades, the work in these schools has been made more definite and uniform and has been greatly improved in classification and continuity of progress. New teachers' registers have been placed in the hands of all teachers and each teacher is required to keep a record of the gradation, classification, and advancement of every pupil, and leave this record for the direction of the succeeding teacher.

INCREASED EFFICIENCY IN COUNTY SUPERVISION.

There has been a marked improvement in county supervision and an increasing recognition of the value and importance of the work of an efficient superintendent.

Then, too, many counties have seen clearly that the real strategic point in the public school work of the county is the County Superintendent, and so have employed competent Superintendents at a living salary to give all their time, attention, energy, and ability to the work. The average salary of County Superintendents has been more than doubled since 1901. The Superintendents in nearly all the counties in the State are devoting more time to the work than ever before. All County Superintendents are now required to spend a reasonable time in visitation of schools. With better pay for their work and more time to devote to it, they have been able to do more work and better work than ever before. The educational progress of this period along all lines is largely attributable to this increased efficiency of the County Superintendent's work. County supervision has been greatly aided and improved by the work of the State Association of County Superintendents and the district associations of County Superintendents. Through these organizations County Superintendents have been brought together for interchange of ideas about their common work, and for conference with the State Superintendent and with each other, once or twice a year. Some of the results have been better organization, more hearty coöperation, a more uniform plan of work, more systematic methods of conducting the work of the public schools.

ORGANIZATION AND COÖPERATION OF THE WOMEN.

With their characteristic public spirit and their commendable interest in every work for the betterment of humanity, the women of the State have organized the Woman's Association for the Betterment of Public School Houses and

Grounds. Under the direction of this Association many county and district associations have been formed in all sections of the State. In the important work of beautifying the public school houses and grounds and of cultivating public sentiment therefor, these women through their associations have been most potent factors. So far as the writer knows, there has never before been any organized movement on the part of the women of the State for the upbuilding of the public schools.

Finally, the organization of the women of North Carolina into associations with a fixed purpose of improving the public school houses and grounds deserves mention as one of the most significant facts in the history of the educational progress of this period, while notice should also be taken of the establishment of a North Carolina Day in the public schools and the influence of the celebration of this day in all the public schools of the State.

NORTH CAROLINA DAY AND THE GROWTH OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SPIRIT.

The General Assembly of 1901 set apart one day to be devoted annually to the consideration of North Carolina history in the public schools. For the celebration of this day pamphlets containing a program and the historical material necessary for the program have been prepared and sent out from the office of the State Superintendent each year. In these pamphlets the history of the State has been taken up somewhat in its chronological order. Each pamphlet has dealt with a definite period and section and has contained a number of original articles by living North Carolinians, each writer selected because of known interest in the subject assigned him and special knowledge of it. The articles have dealt with the past history of the section under study, the lives and characters of its noteworthy leaders, its present resources, the avocations, the manners, customs, and character of its people. The pamphlets have contained, also, choice

selections from the best of North Carolina literature and contributions from some of our living poets, who are beginning to win reputation at home and abroad. Teachers and County Superintendents have been urged to seek to gather the people around the school on North Carolina Day to join with the children and the teacher in this beautiful consecration of at least one day in the year to the special study of the State, her history, and her people. Reports from the various counties indicate a growing interest in the observance of the day, and inspire the hope that much has already been accomplished and that much more will yet be accomplished through these exercises and studies in the public schools to foster a literary and historical spirit among our people, to awaken in the rising generation an interest and pride in our past history, to give a knowledge of the State's wonderful resources, to inspire a hope and confidence in its future, and to give the people of the different sections a better acquaintance with each other, to the end that understanding each other better they may the better be welded into one people of one State with a common history, a common interest, and a common aim.

This progress is but the visible evidence, the concrete expression of the convictions of our people that education is the birthright of every child of a republic, the safeguard of society and government, the surest road to prosperity and happiness; of their acceptance of the truth that the public school is the only means of placing it within the reach of all, and of their determination to build up a system of public schools that shall offer to every one as good an opportunity to acquire the best education for which he has capacity as is to be found anywhere on earth.

THE SOUTH REGAINING ITS PRESTIGE.

C. B. AYCOCK.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The late Senator Hoar in an address which he delivered at Charleston a few years ago used this language:

"The American people have learned to know as never before the quality of the Southern stock, to value its noble contribution to the American character; its courage in war, its attachment to home and State; its love for rural life, its capacity for great action and generous emotions; its aptness for command—above all this—constancy, the virtue above all virtues, without which no people can be either great or free. After all, the fruit of this vine has a flavor not to be found in other gardens. In this great and magnificent future which is before our country, you are to constitute a large measure both of strength and beauty."

When we read this splendid tribute to the South all of our hearts swelled with pride and were glad. We rejoiced to find appreciation at the North and a rarely beautiful expression of our real character. The prediction that a great and magnificent future for our country was to be based in large part on the strength and beauty of the South brought to all Southern people a distinct pleasure. The question now arises among us, however, as to whether, despite this prediction, we have any large part in the life of this nation, and if not, how can we make good and secure our proper share in the affairs of the country.

To-day it seems to me that we have less effect upon the thought and action of the nation than at any period of our history.

Before the War Between the States Southern statesmen directed the policies of the nation and filled the largest place in the eye of the people. They wrote few books, but their

speeches illuminated every subject which they touched and set the fashion of political thought. In this day it is not too much to say that what any Southern man thinks of political questions or governmental duty carries no weight in their final settlement. There must be a cause underlying this fact. What is it? How shall it be remedied? Until 1865 the Southern States, while in form a democratic government, were in fact an aristocracy, and out of this aristocracy they chose—as aristocracies ever do—their best men for public service. The wisest, the strongest, the most learned were ever to the front; they were the natural leaders of a brave and generous people who followed their leadership with pride and pleasure. With the close of the war the democracy arose and each man became a factor in the government of his country. Leadership was not so able or cultured. More blunders were committed and more unwise views propagated and believed in. Aristocracy was always trained. Democracy, if it is to be as effective, must likewise be trained. Universal education is therefore the imperative and only remedy for our loss of power in the nation. But how shall we be trained? Are we to forget the memories of the past; to break away from our traditions; to join with those who are clamoring for the adoption of the convictions which we have combated for many years? I think not. No people can ever become a great people by exchanging its own individuality, but only by developing and encouraging it. We must build on our own foundation of character, temperament, and inherited traits. We must not repudiate, but develop. We must seek out and appreciate our own distinctive traits, our own traditions, our deep-rooted tendencies, and read our destiny in their interpretation.

We must put away vainglory and boasting and take an impartial inventory of all the things that we have and are; and these things can only come to us through the training of all our citizenship. We have in the South to-day our Hills,

our Lamars, our Beeks, our Vests, our Vances, and our Hamptons (all of them products of the period before the war); but no man can go throughout the country and lay his hand on the head of any single child and say that here is a Lamar, here is a Vance, or a Vest, or a Hill, or a Hampton, or a Beck. It is the business of the schools to find for us these splendid children and develop them into these great leaders. If I believed in universal education for no other reason, this would be to me a sufficient one. But there are other reasons. We must educate everybody in our respective neighborhoods in order that we may have the benefit of competition and appreciation. You may educate your son and daughter to the fullest extent possible, giving to them the learning of all the world, and after their education put them in a community where there are no other educated people, and they will fail to develop and grow as they would if they lived in a community where there was general culture. The man who stands easily head and shoulders above his neighbors will never be very tall. If he is to surpass his neighbors and be really great, he must have neighbors who are almost great themselves. He can not work out of himself the best there is in him until he is forced to do so by the competition of others almost or quite as strong as he. When the trainers of horses sought to reduce the time in which it took to trot a mile, they did not go and pick out a particular colt and train him for the track, but the trainers all over the world were developing colts. Ten thousand of them were trained until year by year the record was lowered, and when at last lovers of horses wanted to reduce the record below two minutes, after training thousands of horses for the purpose they found one which they thought could accomplish the task. They did not put her on the track alone, but with two running horses ridden by boys who with whip and spur pressed them on the heels of the trotter, drove her to her utmost speed, aroused her spirit of victory, maddened her with the fear of defeat until in one last mad burst she broke the world's record to 1:58½.

Men must win their great victories after the same fashion. In the race of life, if they are to win a victory worth winning, they must run against thoroughbreds. If we pass under the wire ahead of a scrub there is no honor in it.

We want the schools to find all of the strongest and best, and then we want to put these strongest and best in competition one with the other until the fullest power of each shall be developed. In doing this we shall get the largest contribution to society. When we have filled each man full according to his capacity, whether that be much or little, he will overflow, and the surplus belongs to us. It is the full fountain which, because it is full, overflows and makes the green grass grow and the plants to burst into flower. It is a full man who, having all he needs, can contribute to the wants of others. It is needful, too, in order to get the best out of men, that we shall be able to recognize a fine thing when it is done. No man can speak to people who can not hear, no musician can play for those whose ears are not attuned to harmony, and no man can paint for those whose eyes are not trained to see the beauty which he produces. There must be an appreciative audience before any man can do his best. If a woman sings her best songs and strikes the deepest chords of music when her sweetheart tells his story of love, it is because she believes that he understands and appreciates the beautiful thing she is doing. If she closes her piano and puts away her music after the wedding, it is because she has discovered that the man whom she loves best does not realize the splendid talent that is hers. The woman who spends her days and nights studying light, shadow, and perspective, who mixes her colors with her own lifeblood, can never create a great painting unless she feels that some heart shall understand the fine thing she has done and some soul be uplifted by her work.

If these things be true—and that they are I am assured—then it must needs be that the finest things can be done only by education of the masses.

It is education that finds and brings out for us the noblest and best. It stimulates these best to the utmost exertion and fullest development by putting them in competition with others just as well trained as themselves, and it gives to us the noblest and most appreciative audiences. When this thought shall become the guiding thought of the South, and our school-teachers shall work all the time to their utmost until every son and daughter of the South is the thing that God intended—then, and not until then, shall we take our rightful place in the American Union. To reach this place will cost us much—much money, much toil, much sacrifice; but everything that is worth while always does cost much, and, indeed, the finest things can only be had at the highest prices, and then only when paid for in advance. No speech ever yet fell from mortal lips worth remembering a moment after it is delivered that did not come after the speaker had paid for it in advance. No song was ever sung that raised the hearts of the people and made them long for better things that was not sung after the singer had suffered all she sang. No preacher ever stirred the souls of his congregation and put them to yearning after “a closer walk with God” whose sermon was not made after his own hands had been nailed upon the Cross by the side of his Lord and Master. No man reaches the highest peak of a mountain until he has bruised his knees and scrambled over boulders and fallen into the gulches on his way up the height. Indeed, before he reaches there his head shall split with aching, his back shall break and the nails on his fingers shall be torn out by the roots as he pulls himself up the rugged way. But when he does reach the top, the world lies at his feet and the pathway seems to him no longer difficult. The boulders are out of sight, gently covered by the grass that grows by the wayside, while the flowers burst into the beauty of the eternal morning. The struggle upward is worth the cost, and without the cost would not be worth while. The South, which bore so much, sacrificed all of her wealth and gave the life of her young men

in such numbers as to appall the historians, ought to be able to do anything necessary to achieve the best things that are to be found in the world. We must learn all that can be learned, do all that can be done, and be all that we ought to be. The learning and doing will not give us power until we are what we ought to be, for power, permanent and lasting, must finally be based on righteousness.

When the War Between the States closed and the incomparable leader of the Southern armies cast about to find the work he ought to do, he became a teacher. Gen. Robert E. Lee, the greatest soldier of the nineteenth century, was greater in peace than in war. He realized that the South could only be made great, powerful, and controlling through the school-house, and he devoted the last years of his life to the high purpose of teaching. When he came to die, tossing on his last bed of illness, his mind reverted to the Titanic struggle through which he had passed. He fought over again the great battles of that awful conflict, and as he stood in imagination before the serried ranks of the enemy he cried out to his aide: "Tell Hill he must come up."

We are fighting to-day a more terrific battle with the forces of ignorance than he was fighting then. If I had the right to use the great words of this mighty man I should call out to-night and say: "President Alderman, President McIver, President Mell, Chancellor Kirkland, Chancellor Hill, President Thatch, President Fulton, President Boyd, President Taliaferro, President Prather, President Jesse, 'you must come up.' Bring all your corps of truth and light and power. Open your batteries, for the conflict is now on with the enemy. The powers of ignorance and darkness are arrayed against us, and the fight must be to a finish. 'Tell Hill he must come up.'"

A PLEA FOR A LARGER STATE PRIDE.

R. W. WINSTON.

I wish that I may say a word this evening that will stimulate a more intelligent State pride; for States as well as men are held at what they hold themselves. The work done in North Carolina will compare favorably with that done elsewhere, but we have been at little pains to recognize it or even to preserve a memorial thereof. We forget that at both writing and fighting we should be equally skilful, and that America bears the name of one who first wrote about her rather than of him who discovered her. Shall we not, therefore, gather material for the future historian, showing how North Carolinians honor the home, welcome the stranger, cherish generous emotions, love liberty, and place patriotism and independence at a high value? These things we must not fail to do, for out of them will grow song and story to enrich and make steady the lives of our children. We have much need of the man with the scrap-book, with paste and scissors and with pen and ink withal. We have had quite enough of the spoken word which abideth not. The material is at hand; nothing but the artist is needed. Nor will he come until he needs must come in response to the call of his people and his kind.

NORTH CAROLINA CARELESS OF HER HISTORY.

I have recently had occasion to make use of paroles granted in 1865 to Confederate soldiers; but they could nowhere be found. These interesting memorials of the greatest of modern wars made but little impression upon the men who wore the grey. Indeed, your Tar-heel can create the bloody angle at Spottsylvania; he may sit with tears in his eyes crying, as Colonel Henderson says that he did, because his brigade is

not ordered into action at Second Manassas; but the routine work of putting away and preserving his parole, he just can not do. He laughs when you ask him why he did not preserve it, and in his own good-natured way calls the preservation of relics a "sissy" business, and says that everybody knows that the war is over without having to prove it by a parole.

Governor Graham, being Secretary of the Navy in the Filmore cabinet, inaugurated the Perry expedition to Japan. I have recently seen the correspondence which demonstrates this fact. Yet, when a metropolitan magazine a few weeks ago undertook to give a detailed and illustrated account of this movement, the name of William A. Graham, one of the originators thereof, was not mentioned. If the National Declaration of Independence had been promulgated in North Carolina, would we have been at the pains to preserve the same or even an authentic account thereof? It may be doubted if the marriage licenses of a dozen North Carolina couples issued prior to the year 1850 are in existence to-day. And as to the literary remains of our most fertile scholars—like the man caught in the Kansas cyclone—there are no remains! One would think that a spirit of vanity or of family pride would prompt our people to put aside and safely keep all literary, legal, political, historical, or biographical material produced by or concerning one's immediate relatives, and to file away letters written at critical periods of the State's history or of the individual's life. But the contrary seems to be the rule with us in North Carolina. This lack of material shows itself when the biography of any of our sons is undertaken. Except McRee's *Life and Letters of James Fredell*, we have no North Carolina biography. We have not lacked great men in our midst. In my opinion, a well-digested life of Z. B. Vance, setting forth his sturdy and rugged qualities as the leader of a people who for a third of a century found in him their ideal, would add to an understanding of our State's real greatness. What a charming book could have been made of the lives of North Carolina's Chief Justices or

of her Governors or of her Senators, if the material had been preserved! This lack of material may be noted in an attempt to write the life of Nathaniel Macon, who seems to have regarded it as beneath the dignity of a great man to preserve any memorial of himself. Think of the modesty of Raleigh's noble philanthropist, Stanhope Pullen, and of James H. Horner, Thomas Ruffin, Jr., or of scores and scores of other distinguished sons of the State—including Macon himself—who would not consent to have any likeness of themselves taken, so that we can but guess at their features. Contrast this with Morley's statement that he had from two to three hundred thousand written papers of Gladstone from which to prepare his life. Lack of State pride is proverbial in North Carolina. "We are proud that we have no pride." North Carolinians *love* North Carolina—they love her with a tenderness and devotion that is not surpassed—but they laugh in their sleeves at any man or set of men who undertakes the routine work of gathering material for writing her history.

OUR PRIDE IS INDIVIDUAL, OR LOCAL.

Since the days of 1775 North Carolina has not looked with kindly eye upon any kind of restraint. Each man of us "carries his sovereignty under his hat." In a general sort of way he is proud that he lives in the Cape Fear section, or that he is of Scotch-Irish descent, or he brags about the beauties of Asheville or Raleigh, or the wealth of Durham, or of the growth of Charlotte or Greensboro, and he honors the memory of her dead heroes; but if you invite him to join an historical or literary society, with all its dreary details of a president and secretary, of committees, and papers to be written and material to be collected—why, that is quite another proposition; he would turn that over to the Ladies' Aid Society, and call his dog for a bird hunt. Suppose that in the past we had had unity of purpose and action in North Carolina. Pender, the superb tactician, and Pettigrew, Grimes,

Hoke, and Ransom would have been the leaders of our armies; nor would we to-day be put to the disagreeable task of setting aright the history of the part played by us in the Civil War. Fame is assuredly a proper object of man's efforts, but North Carolinians until a late date have cared little for it.

NORTH CAROLINA DIVIDED INTO EAST AND WEST.

The geographical division of North Carolina into East and West has weakened us as a people and cut our State pride in twain. Let me illustrate: There are only about two hundred and forty members of the State Literary and Historical Association in North Carolina, and of this small number only eleven active members are west of Greensboro. At our University all western men join the Dialectic Society and all eastern men join the Philanthropic Society. We parcel out our Supreme Court Justices between the east and west regardless of all other considerations. In 1835 the amended Constitution was submitted to a vote of the people. Practically all of the votes for ratification came from the west, and nearly all of the votes against ratification came from the east. For example:

<i>For.</i>		<i>Against.</i>
0.....	Brunswick	466
1359.....	Burke	1
2.....	Hyde	431
1322.....	Buncombe	22
1.....	Tyrrell	459
1557.....	Rutherford	2

The distance from Cherokee to Currituck is such that there has been little intercourse between these sections, which are distinct civilizations, with different habits, tastes, and politics. We owe it to ourselves to remove all artificial barriers which keep alive this feeling between East and West. Let it be cut out of our politics, abolished from our colleges, and removed from our minds. Much has been accomplished herein. The abolition of borough-towns in 1835, the abolition of slavery in 1865, the suffrage amendment in 1898, were long steps in

this direction, while the completion of the North Carolina Railway and the opening up of summer resorts by the sea and in the mountains is doing much towards creating homogeneousness among our people. But we must become something more than homogeneous in North Carolina. We must become coöperative in our efforts to foster a proper State pride—a State pride that will make itself felt from ocean to ocean and will excite the admiration of all lands.

ORGANIZED EFFORT ESSENTIAL.

Let us stop laughing at all organized societies in North Carolina—organized to preserve the deeds of the noble dead and to stimulate State pride. Our State is long on patriotism and freedom and short on methodical habits and attention to details. Each city and county needs to have its local and historical society, and suitable rooms and halls should be provided in which to preserve papers, magazines, interesting letters, heirlooms, and relics of all kinds. May I pause and acknowledge the State's debt of gratitude to her purest idealist, a man having the Southerner's heart and the Northerner's historical instinct—William Joseph Peck? But after all, the great work in this direction must be done under the auspices of this central society. This Association must unify and strengthen the literary and historical forces of the State. It has made a beginning. It has set on foot a movement looking to a Walter Raleigh monument. It established the Hall of History in this city, created a North Carolina Day in the Public Schools, and has caused public libraries to be placed in many of these schools. It established the claim of North Carolina that she was "first at Bethel, furthest to the front at Gettysburg, and last at Appomattox." Its sons have done some research work. Its labors have inspired a patriotic woman to offer a golden cup studded with precious stones dug from the bowels of our mountains to him who shall be adjudged the foremost writer in our educational awakening; and to-night

we take steps to fill our too long vacant niche in Statuary Hall at Washington with a statue of Vance. And yet we might do more, and we must do more. This Association needs the encouragement and support of the great piedmont and mountain country stretching west from Greensboro. Let it be understood that ours is a serious purpose, that we love our State, that we would serve her intelligently, and that her fame must be commensurate with her deeds. Then her sons will remain at home, her influence will be felt in the National councils, her universities and colleges will hold the strong men of their faculties, and ours will be the Empire State of the South. Let us not flinch at a just criticism. And censure, if deserved, though harsh, let us welcome; it has a refining effect even as fire has upon gold. A pride that can not endure criticism is not the right kind of pride. In June, 1883, Charles Francis Adams at Harvard closed a spirited attack on that University by charging that it was a failure, and was sacrificing its sons to the blind following of a fetich, and with bold and fine irony he exclaimed that the sacrifice of himself would not be in vain if what he had just said "may contribute to so shaping the policy of Harvard that it will not much longer use its prodigious influence toward indirectly closing for its students, as it closed for me, the avenues to modern life and the fountains of living thought." Would you or I have said that in North Carolina, and would we have added as Charles Francis Adams did:

The slaves of custom and established mode,
With pack-horse constancy we keep the road,
Crooked or straight, thro' quags or thorny dells,
True to the jingling of our leaders' bells.

Sydney Smith might have had in mind some North Carolina critic when he said that he would not speak disrespectfully of the equator.

LET US STUDY, NOT IMITATE, OTHER SYSTEMS.

No one who cares to follow me will misunderstand me, I trust. It is a proper State pride and more of it that I espouse—not the bold, false pride of the Mexican or of the Spaniard, nor the showy boasting of the French nor the ignorant swagger of the Russian, nor indeed quite so much of that pride of birth which tends to mar the glory of our mother country and of our cousins of Germany. But the best of them all we should strive to attain, just as we in North Carolina were made up of the best of them all. By no means shall we become a race of imitators, nor shall we endeavor to transplant a foreign civilization. A people's character is of slow growth, but may we not grow into larger and better things without losing the warp and woof of our being? We may learn something useful from New England, if we will.

State pride is largely developed among her people. The town of Concord is dotted with monuments marking historical spots, and she has more than a score of bronze tablets commemorative of her splendid history. Every New England village and community and town and city and almost every family has its written history. These things go to create and foster a correct State pride. Alas! when we come to our fair Southern States we find only two that have any State pride—Virginia and South Carolina.

BRONZE TABLETS AND MONUMENTS.

A very effective way of stimulating State pride is by public collections of oil paintings or by erecting monuments and bronze tablets. A fine collection of oil paintings may be found in our Supreme Court room and at the University of North Carolina. Of late years we have erected many monuments in different sections of our State in memory of our mighty dead and of a dear cause. But our good State has so many historic places that a thousand monuments and tablets scarce would mark them all. Your minds will go out to your

own neighborhoods and you will recall such spots. When you return to your homes, may we not ask that you will create such local pride that these places will be appropriately marked and designated? Near the city of Durham at the Bennett place on the 26th day of April, 1865, the last army of the Confederacy yielded the unequal struggle and surrendered to General Sherman. If it were located in Ohio it would be a National park. Eight miles to the west of the Bennett place, in 1781, Cornwallis cut his famous road leading to Guilford Court-House. How appropriately bronze tablets would locate this ancient thoroughfare, and how pleasing to the eye of the traveler as he passed from Durham to Chapel Hill would read this inscription: "Along this way marched Lord Cornwallis in 1781 with his army. But his course was checked at Guilford Court-House, sixty miles westward, and he hastened to his surrender at Yorktown." At Columbia, S. C., embedded in the granite walls of her State Capitol are bronze tablets which tell the story of brave companies and regiments upon the tented field. As I stood in their presence my eyes fell upon a shapely monument just in front erected to the women of South Carolina. Thereon I read words which chill the blood and transform the man. And as I read, I felt that it was good to be of kin to these people who cherish the dead and who, on all occasions, stand together for the pride and honor and glory of the Palmetto State. And then I thought I would like to see just such tablets embedded in the walls of our own State Capitol at Raleigh—the fairest city of them all—and that I would like to have the choosing of two of these tablets. "At Gettysburg Captain Tuttle, Co. F, 26th North Carolina Regiment, went into battle with 84 men and 8 officers. All officers lost and 83 of the men killed or wounded." "At Gettysburg Captain Byrd, Co. C, 11th North Carolina Regiment, went into battle with 6 officers and 38 men. Two officers were killed; 36 men killed or wounded. The four remaining officers went into second day's fight and the Captain brought out the flag himself."

Over the lintels of our Supreme Court room, a court that has ever held the wavering balance right 'twixt friend and foe, how appropriate these words would sound: "North Carolina's Supreme Court was the first court to declare an act of the Legislature unconstitutional."

And so your minds will fill out the picture—but a sketch of which I have made—until under your sympathetic guiding the people of our brave State shall not only come to know, but to know how and why we are what we are, the good Old North State—plus the tar when necessary.

THE REBIRTH OF THE UNIVERSITY.

KEMP P. BATTLE.

The doors of the University were closed February 1, 1871.

In 1873 Professor Alexander McIver, then Superintendent of Public Instruction, a first-honor graduate of the University, and always a warm friend, made an earnest effort to revive the institution. He called a meeting in the Senate chamber of the Capitol of all University alumni and friends to devise means to that end. The meeting was largely attended and enthusiastic resolutions were passed. In order to effect a reorganization, the trustees were requested to place their resignations in the hands of Governor Caldwell, a University man. The scheme failed, and then it was concluded that nothing but a constitutional amendment, giving the management of the institution to the General Assembly, would suffice.

In August, 1873, such an amendment was adopted by the people. The change was due to the influence of our alumni in the General Assembly, especially of Montfort McGehee and Richard C. Badger; Mr. Badger, a Republican, assisting the Democrats in obtaining the requisite three-fifths vote. The Assembly determined, by act of January 28, 1874, to delegate the management to sixty-four trustees, elected by joint ballot, to serve eight years. Only two of the last board were re-elected—Rev. Dr. Neill McKay and James A. Graham. Of those deprived of their offices in 1868, thirteen were found on the new board. Rev. Dr. McKay has the unique distinction of having been a member of all three boards.

William A. Graham was called temporarily to the chair, and William L. Saunders was appointed secretary. It was then unanimously resolved that a committee, of which Mr.

Manning was chairman, be appointed to wait on Governor Tod R. Caldwell and request him to preside at the meeting. His Excellency declined, because in his opinion the General Assembly had no power to elect trustees, but that they should have been nominated by himself and confirmed by the Senate.

Notwithstanding this rebuff, the board continued its sessions. An executive committee was appointed. K. P. Battle was elected secretary and treasurer, to give a \$20,000 bond.

The next day, on motion of W. A. Graham, Messrs. Steele, Cameron, and Saunders were appointed a committee to visit Chapel Hill and report the condition of the University buildings and other property and of the available funds.

The next meeting was on April 9, 1874. Messrs. Fourney George, Mills L. Eure, Thomas D. S. McDowell, W. W. Peebles, J. H. Thorpe, who were not present at the preceding meeting, took their seats.

An elaborate report, prepared by W. L. Steele, chairman of the committee of three, was read by him. The committee met at Chapel Hill promptly. A written request was made of Dr. Pool for the keys and possession of the buildings. He declined to surrender their custody, but allowed the committee the privileges of visitors. Accordingly, they inspected all the buildings, except Smith Hall, the keys of which were not in Dr. Pool's possession. They found that there was urgent need of repairs.

On motion of Judge Eure, Messrs. W. A. Graham, J. J. Davis, and K. P. Battle were appointed to take steps for bringing the question of the validity of the appointment of the trustees to judicial determination.

Fortunately for the speedy settlement of this question, Secretary and Treasurer Lassiter had deposited the seal of the University and the books relating to his office in the office of Superintendent McIver. The Superintendent readily consented that suit might be instituted against him for the possession of this property, and to expedite the case as much as possible. Consequently, an action was brought against Dr.

Pool at the May Term, 1874, of Orange Superior Court. The University lawyers, Messrs. John W. Graham and James A. Graham, declined to accept a fee for their services. The Judge, Tourgee, decided against the University, but an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court. In that court, in June, 1874, Hon. B. F. Moore and ex-Judge William H. Battle, who had been classmates at the University, graduating in 1820, argued the question for their alma mater, likewise without charge. At the January Term, 1875, the decision was for the University.

Another committee, on motion of ex-Governor Graham, was appointed to memorialize the General Assembly to restore to the University the principal (\$125,000) of the Land Grant Fund, which had been impaired by the investment of the late board largely in worthless special tax bonds.

The memorial of the trustees, written by the chairman, ex-Governor Graham, and endorsed by Governor Brogden, was duly submitted to the General Assembly, then in session. The case of the University was strongly argued by the distinguished chairman. The memorial is peculiarly interesting, as being his last state paper. The closing work of his great career was in behalf of the uplifting of the youth of the land, the restoration of the institution whose halls he had left fifty-one years before, a highest honor graduate.

The bill to carry into effect the memorial was introduced into the House of Representatives on February 27, 1875, by Mr. Nerens Mendenhall of Guilford, a worthy member of the Society of Friends, a veteran teacher of high reputation. It was referred to the Committee on Finance, of which Col. S. McD. Tate was chairman. Messrs. D. M. Carter and K. P. Battle, in pursuance of their appointment by the trustees, asked and obtained leave to address the committee on behalf of the bill, and were respectfully heard.

All familiar with the temper of the public mind at that time towards appropriations, especially towards anything like paying the interest on the public debt, will realize that if

nothing had been done by the trustees the bill would have been sunk in the quagmire of "innocuous desuetude." Accordingly, with the approval of all, and at the request of many trustees, the secretary and treasurer spent several weeks in the unpleasant business of lobbying for the measure. The surviving members of the General Assembly will bear witness that he used no argument, not even the price of a cigar or a glass of lemonade, other than earnest pleading for higher education.

The most active workers for the bill were Representatives William N. Mebane, who exchanged his sophomore gown in 1861 for the uniform of a Confederate soldier; Col. Paul B. Means, of the last class under the old regime, who has always been ready with head and time and purse to push forward his alma mater; George V. Strong, a first-honor man of the Class of 1845, who made one of the most eloquent of his many speeches during a long and successful career at the bar; and those strong lawyers, Marshall T. Pinnix, of the Class of 1859; Platt D. Walker, of 1865-'67; John M. Moring, of 1860-'62; W. C. Fields of Alleghany, of 1869. Good work in our behalf was done by others who, mainly on account of the Civil War, were not sons of the University. I recall the strong appeals of Col. S. McD. Tate of Burke, one of our trustees and one of the ablest men of the piedmont country, whose position as chairman of the Committee on Finance gave him peculiar power; of Alfred M. Erwin of McDowell, whose advocacy could not possibly have had any taint of self interest, because he was a confirmed old bachelor; of Mr. Spears of Harnett; and of the able chairman of the Judiciary Committee, who had then as little idea of ever having a position in our faculty as he had of being Chief Justice of Porto Rico or one of the Philippines, our esteemed professor of law, ex-Judge James Cameron MacRae, then of Cumberland.

In the Senate the friends of the University had ascertained their safe majority, and they concluded not to consume time by speaking. Mr. W. W. Peebles of Northampton, however,

could not be restrained, and short but strong speeches were made by Messrs. E. W. Kerr of Sampson, W. F. French of Columbus, Joseph Cashwell of Brunswick and Bladen, Col. Edward Cantwell of New Hanover, and last, but by no means least, by one, although an alumnus and trustee of another institution, always our friend, active and efficient, now a trustee of ours, Charles Manly Cooke of Franklin.

On March 2 Mr. Tate reported the bill with the chilling statement that "the committee were divided, a portion recommending its passage." It was made a special order for March 4, subsequently changed to March 9, when it was again postponed to March 11. These postponements were at the instance of the friends of the measure, who were laboring to mitigate the intensity of the hostility threatening to be fatal.

On the 11th of March the bill failed to pass the second reading by a vote of 41 to 58. Mr. Norment, who voted with the negative for the purpose, moved to reconsider. The motion to table this failed, 48 to 54; the motion to reconsider prevailed by 58 to 55, and the bill was made the special order for March 15.

On this day the friends of the measure thought they could pass it without a division, but the Speaker decided it was lost. A motion to reconsider was at once carried, 61 to 31, and then the bill passed its second reading by the handsome majority of 53 to 43.

Ordinarily the opposition to a measure is put forward on the second reading, but such was the animosity to this measure that every effort was made to defeat it on the third reading, which was set for March 17. Amid breathless excitement, surrounded by crowds in the lobby and galleries, fifty-one members recorded their vote in the affirmative and fifty in the negative. The fate of the University hung on one vote. Judge MacRae, ever watchful, at once moved to make the triumph irreversible, and succeeded by 59 to 39, twenty majority.

An incident, of which I was personally cognizant, well shows the perils surrounding the measure. Its friends had induced a few members, who felt bound to vote "No," not to do so when their names were called, in the fond hope that some waverers might like to be with those who seemingly were triumphant. An excellent gentleman, Mr. McIver of Moore, came to me and said: "Mr. Battle, I wish your bill to pass, and if necessary it shall have my support. But my constituents are opposed to it, and in deference to them, if I am not needed, I will vote 'No.'" So, when his name was called, he kept silent. When the roll was finished the University was five or six in the majority, and Mr. McIver said: "Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to vote. 'No.'" Then so many members, silent at first, followed his example that there was a majority in the negative. Turning to me, with a comically wry face, before the result was announced, he whispered: "I've got to do it." "Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to change my vote. I vote AYE!" And I wish to record, in memory of my ancient friend and deskmate, Col. Rufus L. Patterson of Salem, our chief marshal of 1850, and graduate of 1851, then a trustee, that the member from Forsyth, Dr. Wheeler, a few minutes before the vote was taken, said: "I intend to support your bill. I have just received a letter from one of my constituents, Colonel Patterson, which convinces me that it is right."

The University had "plain sailing" in the Senate. Its sons were very strong there, and they were men of talent and influence. They were:

C. M. T. McCauley of Union, a grandson of Matthew, one of the donors of the University site. A. B., 1838.

Nicholas W. Boddie of Nash, a student of 1843-'44.

Joseph B. Stickney of Beaufort, a student of 1847-'48.

Leigh Richmond Waddell of Johnston, A. B., 1852.

William W. Peebles of Northampton, A. B., 1853.

James T. Morehead of Guilford, A. B., 1858.

William A. Graham, Jr., of Lincoln, a student of 1855-'59.

Charles Manly Busbee of Wake, a student of 1865-'68.

And as Reading Clerk we had, then in his prime, Patrick Henry Winston, Jr., A. B., 1867, full of enthusiasm for his alma mater.

The bill passed the Senate by a large majority and the University was saved.

The joyful news was forwarded to Mrs. C. P. Spencer, who, with her mother, had remained at Chapel Hill in all its darkest hours, and by her potent pen kept the University and its woes before the public eye. She summoned to her aid Misses Susan G. and Jenny Thompson (now Mrs. J. P. Kerr), Mr. A. D. Mickle, and perhaps others, and, repairing to the attic of the South building, exultingly rang out the glad tidings over the hills and dales for four miles around. The deep-toned bell had lost by its slumbers none of its sonorousness. It seemed to rejoice to enter on its duties again, and to promise never again to cease "calling from duties done" or "ringing for honors won" to the end of time.

The Board of Trustees convened in the executive office on May 4, 1875.

Secretary Battle submitted various schemes of reorganization. Rev. C. B. Hassell presented one and moved its adoption, but, on motion of Mr. P. C. Cameron, all the schemes were referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. K. P. Battle, chairman; Manning, J. A. Graham, J. J. Davis, and Rev. C. B. Hassell. The scheme reported by them was unanimously adopted.

On motion of ex-Governor Graham, the election of a president was postponed indefinitely, it being the general opinion that one of the professors might, for awhile, act as chairman of the faculty.

It was agreed to meet on the 16th of June for the election of professors.

K. P. Battle moved that a committee of five be appointed to solicit contributions for the revival of the University, not to be used to pay any existing debt of the institution. This

was carried, and the chair appointed Messrs. K. P. Battle, B. F. Moore, W. A. Graham, P. C. Cameron, and John Manning.

A pleasant feature of the rebirth was the interest taken by the good women of North Carolina, at the instance of Mrs. Spencer. The pupils of Salem School, of that of the Misses Nash and Kollock, and the ladies of Raleigh, Hillsboro, and Salisbury contributed valuable apparatus for instruction.

Twenty-eight trustees met on June 16, 1875, for the purpose of electing professors. The Governor presided. On account of the unusual numbers, adjournment was had to the Senate chamber. Col. P. B. Means was appointed assistant secretary.

It is President Winston's province to speak of those elected, and I now pass them by with this single remark, that the trustees of 1875 are entitled to much of the credit of his most useful educational work for North Carolina, because they started him on his professional labors.

It was at this meeting that Mr. Cameron made an urgent appeal to ex-Governor Graham to allow the board to elect him president. An expression of pain passed over his face as he firmly declined. He was thinking of the insidious and certain mine being rapidly pushed under the fortress of his life. Less than two months after this meeting I assisted as pall-bearer in carrying to his grave in the Presbyterian Church lot in Hillsboro the body of this broad-minded statesman and virtuous citizen.

There are persons other than the faculty connected with the reopening, who must not be neglected in this chronicle. The first is Andrew Mickle, the bursar, a man of unpretending manners, but of rare intelligence, and whose virtues were as solid as the adamantine hills. He was prospering as a merchant when the war began, but during its progress ruined his fortune by acting on the chivalric notion that it was wrong to raise prices of his goods because it was as difficult for his neighbors to obtain Confederate money as it had been to obtain

good money. And so, as the currency depreciated, he sold his merchandise for much less than cost. He bore his poverty with the same dignity which characterized him in his prosperity, and when the trustees resolved to depart from the old plan of devolving the bursarship on a professor, it fell by universal consent to him, with whom millions of dollars would have been as safe as in the Bank of England.

Another indispensable and equally worthy officer of the University was the University carpenter, Foster Utley. He was born in Wake County on a farm. His mother was a Walton, said to have been of the family of the noted fisherman and author, Izaak Walton. The transparent purity of character, the boundless benevolence, the sturdy honesty, the quiet humor, the love of nature, the delight, on a rare holiday, of sitting for hours on a mossy bank, under a beech-tree roof, with his cork floating on the quiet waters or dancing among the ripples, his devout thankfulness to God, whether the yellow perch yielded to the "eloquent squirm" of the bait or passed it by in cold indifference, remind us of the sainted father of the art of angling. He married an excellent Chapel Hill lady, who survives him, and the University is fortunate in having in its employment a son, who resembles his father in his person, his skill, and, I firmly believe, in his character.

To complete the personnel of the institution, the faculty chose, to wait on the students, ring the bell, and for other similar services, one who had occupied a similar position under the old faculty. He had been a slave of President Swain, and, therefore, he appears on the records of 1875 as Wilson Swain, though he afterwards preferred the surname of Caldwell, his father having been a slave of President Caldwell. He was an exceedingly intelligent, courteous, faithful man, reliable always, and had the unbounded regard and confidence of the faculty and students. A gifted son of the University (Mr. Peele), who is to address you to-day, has published a pen-picture of him, as beautiful as true, which

attests that my description of Wilson Caldwell is not overdrawn.

The friends of the University were greatly encouraged by a decision of the Circuit Court of the United States at the June Term, 1874. A short statement of facts is necessary to make this clear.

From 1789 it had been supposed by the best legal talent that all the property of the University was subject to sale by the trustees. When the war ended it had \$200,000 worthless bank stock and owed about \$20,000 to individuals and over \$90,000 to the bank. It was thought to be a good arrangement to compromise this bank debt for \$25,000 in gold or \$35,700 in paper currency. The bank agreed to this, on condition that a mortgage should be made covering all the property of the University, which was done. President Swain then endeavored to secure a loan for \$60,000 on transfer of the mortgage. He visited New York City and applied to the Astors and other capitalists, but without success. When the institution passed into the hands of the new trustees, in 1868, they employed counsel to contest the validity of the mortgage. By consent of the Attorney-General, Mr. W. M. Coleman, they brought suit in the Circuit Court of the United States in the name of the State, returnable in June Term, 1869, asking for a decree nullifying the mortgage.

This bill was dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

In 1874, Charles Dewey, assignee, brought suit to have the property of the University sold under the mortgage. This was resisted, on the ground that, as the State Supreme Court had already decided that property of counties and other municipal corporations could not be sold without the consent of the Legislature, the property of the University being a State institution, was similarly protected.

At June Term, 1874, of the Circuit Court, Chief Justice Waite, Circuit Judge Hugh L. Bond, and the District Judge, George W. Brooks, unanimously decided that the bank debt was valid, but that neither the judgment creditor nor the

trustees themselves had power to alienate such property as constituted the life of the University as distinct from the endowment for its support. Mr. George H. Snow, a prominent lawyer of Raleigh, was appointed commissioner to report as to what personal and real property should be exempt from sale under the foregoing decree.

Mr. Snow met the committee appointed by the trustees, Messrs. Cameron, Manning, and Battle, soon afterwards at Chapel Hill. In order to show the desolate condition of Chapel Hill at the time, I state that there was no hotel in its limits, and we four, separately, were entertained by the courtesy of friends, Mrs. Spencer, Mr. S. M. Barbee, Dr. Mallett, and Mr. Mickle.

There was little difficulty in deciding that the campus and its buildings, books, pictures, and apparatus for instruction should be exempt. But it was not so clear what part of the 700 or 800 acres adjoining the campus should be considered as necessary to the University life. Fortunately, I had, as agent, applied to the trustees for the purchase of lots east and south of the campus, and was able to testify that the application was refused on the ground that it was the settled policy of the trustees since 1795 to sell lots only from the lands to the north and west, for the reason that it would be fatal to good order and discipline to surround the campus on all sides with dwellings. Colonel Carter, in arguing the case before Judge Bond, for which he refused to accept a fee, with his inimitable gravity when resorting to the humorous, said: "Why, may it please your Honor, the village is sparsely populated. It has only one policeman, and he is old and rheumatic. He could not even outrun the students when they get after him." So, after a liberal report at June Term, 1876, Judge Bond gave the University as a homestead all the land, about 600 acres, from the Durham to the Pittsboro road, except the Piney Prospect rectangle of 60 or 70 acres. I am constantly hoping that some big-hearted friend who remembers with what delight when, seated on Piney Pros-

peet hill, his lady love by his side, he gazed on the vast expanse of green fields and growing crops which now cover the bottom of the old Triassic sea, bounded by the spires and factory chimneys of Durham and the green hills of Cary and Apex, realizing fondly the truth of the Irishman's saying, "How swate it is to be alone, when your swatheart is wid you," will, for the perpetual delectation of courting couples, buy that rectangle and add it to the park, which the students and their lady friends have honored me by calling after my name.

On the 30th of June, 1875, six of the committee of nine appointed to take steps for the reopening of the University, viz., Messrs. Kemp P. Battle, chairman; B. F. Moore, Rev. Dr. N. McKay, P. C. Cameron, D. M. Carter, and W. L. Saunders, met in Raleigh, the following professors-elect being present by invitation, viz., Rev. Dr. C. Phillips, Messrs. J. DeB. Hooper, A. W. Mangum, A. F. Redd, George T. Winston. The faculty, being requested to make recommendations, made a report, which, after being amended in certain particulars, was adopted provisionally.

The opening of the session was, as advertised, on the 6th of September, 1875. Dr. Phillips was unanimously chosen chairman of the faculty, and Professor Winston secretary. Professor Graves received the then almost honorary office of librarian.

There is a psychological tendency in the human mind to be desirous of ascertaining the originators of great movements. We wish to know who brought letters to Greece, who founded Rome, who first set foot on American soil, who discovered oxygen, who kicked the first football, and so on. Thus it happens that Hinton James has gained immortal fame by being the first to trudge through the muddy roads of the winter of 1795 and presenting himself to the delighted gaze of the first presiding professor, Dr. David Kerr, exactly four weeks after the session began.

I know, therefore, you are all in a state of trembling anxiety to know the name of the Hinton James of the nineteenth century. I am glad to be able to inform you. I am proud to set him on the pinnacle of fame.

In thus awarding the honor I am compelled to ignore the claims of Mr. James C. Taylor and Dr. Isaac M. Taylor, because their residence was Chapel Hill, and, being on the ground, they could not possibly, in the graphic language of General Forrest, "git thar first." Not counting them, the glory belongs to the elder of two brothers, who, with Charles Bond, preceded all other candidates by a day's journey. When their conveyance reached the boundary-line of Chapel Hill at the hamlet of Couchtown, the elder suddenly leaped from the vehicle and dashed forward with the amazing speed for which duck-legged youths are often famous, shouting: "Hurrah, I am the first student on the Hill!" He reversed the history of Esau and Jacob. Esau was ahead this time. The unsuspecting Jacob (Hebrew for Robert) had no time to offer his mess of pottage. When I tell you that this long-headed—if short-legged—youth went to the Legislature over about one thousand majority against his party, intent on looking out for the interests of his alma mater, you will guess that his name is Francis Donnell Winston, the Hinton James of 1875.

The youth Robert, thus outgeneraled, has his share of the blood of the old Scandinavian vikings. After great searchings of the heart he devised his scheme and bided his time. It was a signal and cruel revenge. Frank's Nemesis came when there appeared on this stage to receive the silver cup for the first boy baby of the Class of 1879—James Horner Winston, son of Robert.

The good old county of Bertie has another honor which should be here recorded. On the opening day one youth entered the Agricultural Department. I therefore proclaim that Charles Bond was the first student of the first College of Agriculture in North Carolina.

The formal celebration of the opening of the University was held September 15, 1875. It was eminently successful. The numerous visitors were surprised and gratified at the renovation of buildings and grounds effected under the direction of the committee on repairs, Mr. Cameron. Mrs. Spencer called to her aid the young ladies of Chapel Hill and decorated the chapel with exquisite taste. The portraits of great men of the University—Davie, Caldwell, and Swain, Mitchell and Phillips, Hawks and Badger, Ruffin, Graham and Manly—were hung on the walls. There was a single motto in letters of evergreen—"LAUS DEO" (Thank God!).

The Salisbury band, without charge, furnished excellent music. At 11 o'clock Mr. John R. Hutchins, of the Class of 1852, as chief marshal, and Mayor A. S. Barbee, of the Class of 1860, and several of the students as assistants, formed a procession, as in days of yore, in front of the South building and marched to the chapel. The rostrum was occupied by Governor Brogden, Judge Battle, Dr. William Hooper, Governor Vance, Dr. Phillips, and Professors Mangum and Redd.

Trustees and distinguished visitors were in the area in front. The chapel was full, floor and galleries, of worthy men and beautiful women. Among the men were about fifty students of the Horner School, near Hillsboro. The band began with "Auld Lang Syne." Prayer was offered by Dr. Hooper, who matriculated seventy years before. The opening hymn was then read by Professor Redd. It was composed by William A. Betts, a graduate of 1880, now an honored member of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose father, Rev. A. N. Betts, a graduate and trustee, married his mother, a beautiful lady of Chapel Hill, while in the Senior Class.

Great God of Heaven, condescend
To meet Thy servants here;
Where once we worshipped, Thee again
We gratefully revere.

Be present while with joyful hearts
We consecrate anew
This hallowed spot in Thine own name,
And to Thy service true.

Favor again, O God, these walls
Where once Thy spirit shone;
Send help and wisdom, and may all
The glory be Thine own.

Dr. Phillips, the Chairman of the Faculty, rose to introduce Governor Brogden, who then made an address, full of animation, with language ornate and strong.

Ex-Governor Vance then in his usual felicitous style introduced the orator of the day, ex-Judge William H. Battle, a graduate of the Class of 1820. To quote from a contemporary letter to the *Raleigh News*: "Judge Battle's was the tenderer task to awaken the echoes of memory, and bid us remember, resemble, and persevere." He took a survey of the University. He gave sketches of some of its illustrious sons, and an estimate of their influence on the history of the State. Both addresses were highly appreciated.

Professor Mangum, with a graceful compliment to the author of the hymn, Mrs. Spencer, who had written it for this occasion, gave out the following lines, which were sung to the tune of Old Hundred, the band leading:

Eternal source of light and truth,
To Thee again our hearts we raise;
Except Thou build and keep the house,
In vain the laborer spends his days.

Without Thine aid in vain our zeal
Strives to rebuild the broken walls;
Vainly our sons invoke the muse
Among these sacred groves and halls.

From off Thine altar send a coal,
As burning seraphs erst have brought;
Relight the flame that once inspired
The faithful teachers and the taught.

Pour on our path Thy cloudless light
That from Thy constant favor springs;
Let heart and hand be strong beneath
The shadow of Almighty wings.

Recall, O God! the golden days;
May rude, unfruitful discord cease;
Our sons in crowds exulting throng
The ancient haunts of white-robed Peace!

So shall our upward way be fair
As that our sainted fathers trod.
Again the "Priest and Muse" declare
The holy oracles of God.

The proceedings in the chapel were closed by a benediction, and the audience separated with their hearts full of thanksgiving for the new life of the institution they loved so well.

The venerable Dialectic and Philanthropic societies were reinaugurated during the evening. The Dialectic was called together by Thomas M. Argo, Esq., the last secretary, and Judge William H. Battle was made temporary president.

The Philanthropic Society was called together by Col. William L. Saunders, in whose care its books were placed in 1868, when the last meeting was held.

I have shown how the good old University was started again on its career of usefulness and honor. Its friends have been rapidly swelling in numbers, while its enemies are manifestly growing fewer. May its prosperity for the next quarter of a century increase as rapidly in proportion as it increased since 1875! If my prayer shall be answered, our chances are good for over two thousand students in 1925.

THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE.

W. C. SMITH.

The State Normal and Industrial College for women may with truth be said to be in part a cause and in part a result of the great intellectual awakening which, beginning shortly before 1880, has become a force of such magnitude and power at the present time. It is a *result* of that movement, in that it owes its conception to the minds of those who were leaders in the struggle for a new and better order of things, and its establishment to the demand of an awakened people moved by the quickening forces which these same leaders set in motion. It is a *cause* of the present awakening, in that its faculty, its graduates, and its students have, for fifteen years, in every county and town of the State, preached the doctrine of universal education, and labored by precept and by example to achieve the happy results which we are now beginning to enjoy.

The necessity for this institution and the mission which it was designed to perform may be most clearly set forth by a statement of the conditions as they existed prior to its establishment.

In 1880 the white population of ten years and over in North Carolina was 608,806. Of this number 192,032 were illiterate. The number of illiterate white girls and women was 107,968. The number of white children of school age was 291,770; the average school attendance of white pupils 90,512. The total number of white teachers was 2,727, of which number only 721 were women. The average length of school term was ten weeks, and the average salary of white teachers \$24.11.

What was needed? These facts, their disastrous consequences, and the means and necessity for remedying them, must be brought home to the people. A crusade in behalf of universal education must be preached. More money must be invested in education, and more children gathered into the public schools, enjoying a longer school term, and taught by more and better trained teachers.

Five years of struggle followed, in which the crusade for reform was carried on largely through the medium of Summer Normal Schools. These, beginning with the first established at the University, had by 1885 increased to eight, located at Elizabeth City, Washington, Wilson, Winston, Sparta, Newton, Asheville, and Franklin. They were supported by a State appropriation of \$4,000 annually, and their sessions lasted only three or four weeks. The superintendents of these schools were J. L. Tomlinson, Alexander Graham, Charles D. McIver, Edwin W. Kennedy, E. A. Alderman, M. C. S. Noble, William A. Blair, P. P. Claxton, and S. L. Sheep. Among those who did active work as officers and instructors may be mentioned E. P. Moses, E. C. Branson, D. Matt. Thompson, Collier Cobb, James Y. Joyner, and E. McK. Goodwin. The names of the men are a guarantee of good work, and the positions of honor and usefulness since held by them indicate that the highest order of talent was here enlisted in the cause of popular education. The reports of all these superintendents, with accompanying statistics of attendance, are to be found in the report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the years 1887-1888.

A striking feature of all the Institutes was the purely local character of the attendance. The teachers in counties adjoining those in which the schools were held did not attend, and this in spite of the fact that in previous years they may have attended Institutes held in their own county, and hence were not ignorant of the great value to be derived from them. Charles D. McIver, in his report of the Sparta Normal School

in Alleghany County, which had in 1887 been moved from the adjoining county of Watauga, recognizes the weakness and the consequent inadequacy of the work as then carried on. In his report is the following significant statement:

Of the teachers who attended the Boone Normal School last year, not more than ten were at the Sparta Normal School. In fact, there was only one teacher from Watauga County. Furthermore, from 80 to 90 per cent of the attendant teachers at Sparta had never seen any Normal School before. This indicates that the majority of teachers do not—often they can not—go a great distance to attend Normal Schools. Small salaries and short school terms render it, in many cases, impossible. Efficient County Institutes should be brought within the reach of every teacher in the State.

In a word, those so-called State Normal Schools, though conducted by the ablest men of the teaching profession, vainly tried to be two things under existing conditions which made it impossible for them to be either. As Normal Schools they could not meet the need of the times, in that even the most ambitious teachers, with only such meager professional training and scholarship as they had been able to derive from the rural schools, could not by attendance upon a four-weeks session, make good their deficiencies and properly equip themselves for the serious and responsible work of teaching. As institutes they failed to meet the demand, in that, owing to their limited number and the unfortunate conditions then existing, they did not and could not reach large numbers of the very teachers who most needed their services.

The experience of the teachers in these Summer Institutes thus served to reveal the need of a State Normal College. In 1886 the Teachers' Assembly passed resolutions asking for the establishment of such an institution, and appointed a committee to memorialize the General Assembly. Similar resolutions were adopted and similar committees appointed by the Teachers' Assembly in 1887 and in 1888. In his report of 1888, Hon. S. M. Finger, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, urges upon the General Assembly the importance of establishing the institution. Renewed efforts

were also made by the Teachers' Assembly, and in 1889 a committee representing that body appeared before the State Legislature and presented in person and urged the adoption of a bill establishing a training school for teachers. This committee consisted of Charles D. Melver, chairman; E. G. Harrell, E. P. Moses, E. A. Alderman, George T. Winston, D. Matt. Thompson, and Mrs. J. A. McDonald. The chairman of the committee was at this time a teacher in Peace Institute, and hence a resident of Raleigh. He was thus in a position to labor continuously in behalf of the bill. This he did largely through the medium of personal conference with members of the Legislature, explaining the purpose, emphasizing the importance, and urging the necessity of the measure. His experience as Normal School superintendent and Institute conductor enabled him to point out the necessity of the institution. Furthermore, he showed that the College would call for no immediate increased expenditure on the part of the State, since it was designed to transfer the money appropriated to the eight Summer Normal Schools to this purpose. Finally, he urged that this would afford the white women of the State the only opportunity of securing an education similar to that provided for the white men, colored men and colored women in the University and other State schools.

The grounds of opposition to the bill were many and its opponents active and determined. Some were averse to it, for local and political reasons, because in voting for the establishment of such an institution they would vote to do away with the Summer Normal School held in their section, county, or community. Others opposed the bill on grounds of economy, expressing themselves as decidedly averse to the establishment of another institution for higher education when the State was already pledged to the support of two colleges for the white race. Yet, in spite of opposition, persistent and intense, the bill passed the Senate by a large majority, and failed in the House by only a few votes. Had

this bill become a law a co-educational institution would have been established. There is little doubt, as the sequence proves, that it was the co-educational feature which was largely responsible for the defeat of the measure.

One of the immediate results of the discussions in the General Assembly was to convince that body that the money expended in maintaining the eight Summer Normal Schools was not productive of the best results to the greatest number of people. The Legislature, therefore, authorized the State Board of Education to use the \$4,000 heretofore appropriated to those schools in a way that would secure a Teachers' Institute for every county in the State. Acting under the authority thus granted, the Board of Education employed two men who were to give their time and attention to conducting an active campaign, the purposes of which, as later defined by Dr. E. A. Alderman, were:

1. To *carry to the people* definite knowledge of the public schools, their conditions, their necessities, and the means for their betterment and increased usefulness.

2. To carry to the public school teachers, who could not otherwise obtain it, definite instruction in methods, school government, organization, and all the details of the teacher's work.

3. To acquaint themselves in every way possible with the conditions actually existing and to make such suggestions as would tend to perfect and increase the efficiency of the system.

The men selected to do this work were Charles D. McIver and E. A. Alderman, and in July, 1889, they entered upon the duties of their office. The close of the first year's work showed that during that time these men had conducted institutes of one week's duration at sixty county-seats, with a total enrollment of about 3,000 teachers; that they had delivered public addresses to audiences aggregating more than 25,000 citizens not teachers; and that they had sought by every laudable endeavor to stimulate and encourage the teachers

and to make friends of the cause of public education. Such was the work in general outline. Upon its details we may not enter, save to say that it included the examination of teachers, conferences with school committeemen, and the gathering of statistics and other data from citizens, teachers, school boards, and county officers.

Among the subjects urged upon the consideration of the people by these men in their public addresses was the necessity of a training school for women. To this subject each devotes, also, a considerable part of his report. In substance, the argument in behalf of the institution as presented by the two men is almost the same. That argument, as presented by Dr. McIver, is as follows:

Under our present system of higher and collegiate education a white girl, unless her father is comparatively wealthy, can not, as a rule, get the scholarship necessary to make her a first-rate teacher. Her brother can get it at the University and colleges of the State, because in those institutions about three-fourths of his tuition is paid by the State and the churches. * * * The average man can not send his daughter to our female colleges long enough to make her a scholar. Those who are able to go do not intend to teach school. The girls * * * who would, if prepared, make the best teachers of the State's children, can not get the scholarship necessary to become teachers. One of the results of this is, that two-thirds of our public school teachers are men, whereas, two-thirds, at least, ought to be women. The State appropriates nothing for the training of white women, except the \$4,000 for the Institutes. It appropriates \$8,000 to the training of colored teachers, and uses it in helping permanent Normal Schools open to both sexes. In this way the State appropriates as much to train one negro woman as it does to train four white women, for there are about twice as many white as negro women in the State. By the help of the State, the churches, and philanthropists, a fair opportunity of getting an education is given to every white boy, negro boy and negro girl in North Carolina. Neither of the three has to pay more than one-fifth of the expenses of tuition. But the white girl must pay for every cent of hers. If the training schools shall be established for white girls, it will make education possible to thousands of girls who, under present conditions, must grow up in a state of ignorance and dependence worse than almost any other form of slavery.

Now that we have entered into our heritage and the cost of a woman's education does not greatly exceed the cost of a man's, we may be at some loss to understand why it should be argued that the average white man could send his son, but not his daughter, to college. There were, at the period under consideration, perhaps ten times as many educational institutions for women as for men. In fact, there was scarcely a town in the State that did not boast its college, seminary, or institute for the higher education of women. They were more abundant and more accessible than colleges for men, nor did their advertised charges of tuition greatly exceed those of the male colleges. Why, then, all this argument in behalf of a woman's college based largely on the excessive cost of her education? This was a point not clearly seen even by many of the members of the Legislature. The whole matter will, we think, be made clear, and the force as well as the grounds of Dr. McIver's appeal made apparent by a comparative investigation carried beyond the surface of mere tuition charges.

The charges for tuition at the University at this time were sixty dollars; at the representative female colleges, fifty dollars. But tuition at the University was free to young men preparing themselves for teaching. Moreover, the only other fee paid was ten dollars for room-rent and service. The maximum cost of board in hotels and boarding-houses was thirteen dollars a month, the average cost ten dollars a month. Finally, the University student, whether he paid his fees or accepted free tuition, was admitted to all the work of the institution. The girl, on the other hand, must pay her tuition and then was admitted to—we know not what, since the list of extra charges would seem to include about everything that a college girl would want to study. For example, one of the catalogues of a typical girls' seminary now before us reads as follows: Each of the languages, extra, \$20; drawing, \$15; instrumental music, \$40; use of instrument, \$5; vocal

music, \$40; incidentals, \$2.50; laundry, \$12.50; board, \$120. Other items, such as painting, decorative needlework, and dancing lessons, we omit.

If, then, the daughter took two languages, as did her brother at the University, and registered for the rest of the program, her necessary yearly expenses were \$325. The boy, on the other hand, by applying for free tuition, paid, even when we add laundry, \$15, and the luxury of \$120 board, only \$145. The cost of books and medical attention was extra in both cases. Thus a man might send two of his sons to the University for an amount considerably less than that required to send one daughter to a ladies' seminary.

Well might Dr. McIver argue that the girl eager to seek service in the public schools offering three months' employment at an average salary to women teachers of \$22.82 a month, could not meet the expenses of a college education.

The educational crusade so well begun in 1889 did not end with the summer of 1890. In the two years following it was continued by the same men. More and more the campaign as conducted by them came to emphasize the necessity of a teachers' training college for women; and this not so much as an end in itself—for it must not be forgotten that the fight here waged was for universal education—but a Normal School for women as the surest and most effective means of securing the great end in view. The people must be educated; not a part of the people, but all the people; not simply the present generation, but succeeding generations. The cheapest and best way to educate the next generation is to educate every girl in the present one. Every mother, consciously or unconsciously, whether she will or no, is a teacher, and in her hands is the destiny of State and Nation. The strategic point in the education of the human race is, thus, the education of every possible mother.

In 1890, the King's Daughters petitioned the Legislature to establish an industrial school for girls. The same year the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State endorsed

the petition and joined the King's Daughters in presenting it. The North Carolina Farmers' Alliance at its annual meeting passed strong resolutions urging the State to aid in the higher education of girls and women of the white race. Governor Fowle, in his message to the General Assembly, advocated the establishment of a training school for teachers. The Teachers' Assembly continued the efforts it had been making for six years, but, with wisdom born of experience, so changed its memorial as to eliminate the co-educational feature. Its committee, therefore, appeared before the Legislature of 1891 and suggested the establishment of a Normal College with industrial features for the white women of the State. The committee was ably seconded by Hon. J. L. M. Curry, who made an earnest and powerful plea in behalf of the institution and promised it substantial aid through the Peabody Fund, of which he was the agent. Thus presented and thus advocated, there could be no real grounds of opposition to the measure, and the act establishing the Normal and Industrial College was therefore passed and an annual appropriation of \$10,000 made for its maintenance. The management of the institution was placed in the hands of a Board of Directors, consisting of one member from each of the Congressional Districts and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, who is *ex officio* President of the Board. Charles D. McIver was chosen President of the institution.

Upon the work of building a great college for women President McIver now entered with zeal and enthusiasm, and to that work he devoted the full energies of mind and body. He planned for it, spoke for it, wrote for it, labored for it unceasingly; and no detail of its management, however small, no plan for its enlargement, however great, but received his personal attention. In selecting a site; in designing, constructing, and equipping the buildings; in calling to his aid a faculty that would assist him in carrying out his ideals; in planning a course of study; in the work of encouraging and sustaining his assistants, of advising and directing the stu-

dents—in all the details, in short, pertaining to the management of an institution soon to require the supervision of a thousand human beings, his was pre-eminently the guiding hand and brain. Did a perplexed teacher need advice in regard to some details of a contemplated course of study, a homesick or discouraged student some word of sympathetic counsel, a troubled parent some needful information concerning board or cost of tuition, a college employee instruction in the line of his work—the source of information was ever the same. The College and what it has accomplished is a monument to this people's servant. If, in its short life, it has already accomplished much in the service of the State and society—the honor is his. If, now with vision widened, we feel that through its agency more might be accomplished were it more liberally supported, we may rest assured that wise plans for enlarged usefulness are not lacking, and that on its foundations may be built an institution for women which shall be the peer of any of the great world colleges. It would be as easy now to make it such as it was to create the institution of the early nineties. But now, as then, the demand must come from the people, whose College it is and whose welfare it seeks to promote.

In locating the College the Board of Directors were guided in part by the requirements of the act establishing it, which directed that it should be located "at some suitable place where the citizens thereof will furnish the necessary buildings, or money sufficient to erect them." The offer of Greensboro—\$30,000 in money and a beautiful ten-acre site within the corporate limits of the city—was accepted. In October, 1892, the doors of the institution were opened and 223 students were enrolled the first year. The equipment at that time consisted of two uncompleted buildings, with dormitory capacity for less than one hundred and fifty boarders, with only fifteen rooms in the main building available for recitations, chapel, library, laboratories, and offices, and with a teaching force of fifteen, including assistants.

The plant is now worth \$400,000, its annual State appropriation is \$45,000, its faculty numbers fifty, and its student enrollment for the past five years has been more than five hundred annually. Lack of dormitory capacity alone has prevented a much larger enrollment.

The purpose for which the institution was created is clearly stated in section 5 of the act establishing it. It is as follows:

The object of this institution shall be (1) to give to young women such education as shall fit them for teaching; (2) to give instruction to young women in drawing, telegraphy, typewriting, stenography, and such other industrial arts as may be suitable to their sex and conducive to their support and usefulness. Tuition shall be free to those who signify their intention to teach, upon such conditions as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

THE SPECIAL MISSION OF THE COLLEGE.

The State, in its Constitution, acknowledges the duty and the necessity of providing for the encouragement of popular education. The overwhelming majority of those whose mission it is to serve the State in its public schools are women, and it is in the preparation of professional women teachers, women of accurate and thorough scholarship, broad culture, and an intelligent comprehension of the aim, purposes, and methods of education, that the State Normal College—itsself an essential part of the public school system—finds its special mission.

Three general departments, designed to insure a better trained and better educated womanhood, are included in the College.

I. THE NORMAL DEPARTMENT.

Through the agency of the Normal Department are provided opportunities for securing the best literary and scientific education, with such special provision for instruction in the subjects taught in the public schools and such courses in educational methods as are essential to effective teaching. Here, too, knowledge is verified and theories tested, and ex-

perience acquired through daily practice and observation in a Training School for Teachers—a regularly organized graded school of over 300 pupils, presenting, as nearly as possible, the ideal conditions under which most of the students will afterwards teach. In this actual schoolroom work, under the kindly and competent supervision of experienced instructors, is comprehended one of the distinct advantages offered by the College. The institution is thus in a position to offer special facilities to graduates of other colleges, who may profitably avail themselves of the opportunities here afforded of supplementing the work already done and of more thoroughly qualifying themselves for the teaching profession.

NOT A TEACHERS' COLLEGE SOLELY.

While it is the special mission of the College to fit women for the profession of teaching, the institution is not unmindful of those young women who desire a good general education, but do not expect to become teachers. In addition, therefore, to the teacher's course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Pedagogy, and the special courses offered by the Pedagogical Department, two other Degree Courses are offered: one leading to the Bachelor of Arts Course, designed particularly for those who may wish to give special attention to the languages; the other, the Bachelor of Science Course, intended for those who wish to specialize in the sciences. The three courses are, as nearly as possible, equal in breadth of treatment, scope and number of subjects, and in the amount of time and work required. Each affords a broad and secure foundation of liberal culture, with a desirable opportunity for specialization in a particular subject. In addition to the regular degree courses of four years each, special brief courses are provided for students who are neither under contract to teach nor candidates for a degree.

II. THE COMMERCIAL DEPARTMENT.

Another department of the College, the Commercial, is intended especially for those young women who are thrown upon their own resources, but who do not desire to teach. Comprehensive courses, designed to meet the needs of the students, provide practical instruction in such commercial subjects as stenography, typewriting, and bookkeeping.

III. THE DEPARTMENT OF DOMESTIC SCIENCE.

The Domestic Science Department offers well-correlated courses in cooking, care of the sick, general household economy, sewing and dressmaking. It is the purpose of the department to give students a practical knowledge of those industries that pertain directly to the home and family. Here, in a word, are taught those arts and sciences a knowledge of which every woman needs; and every student will be the better prepared to minister unto her own comfort and that of others, for including at least a part of this work in her course of study.

THE ESTHETIC FEATURES NOT NEGLECTED.

While the College emphasizes the useful and the practical rather than the ornamental, it neither depreciates nor neglects the esthetic features of education. Instruction in drawing, manual arts, vocal expression, and instrumental and vocal music forms part of the regular required college work. Properly qualified students who wish to devote special attention to music or fit themselves as teachers of manual training have an opportunity of taking the special courses arranged by those departments.

President McIver, in his biennial report of 1898, thus gives expression to the

IDEAS FOR WHICH THE COLLEGE STANDS.

The State Normal and Industrial College stands for a public school system that will educate all the people. It teaches its students and urges them to teach others the doctrine of universal education. The authorities of the institution regard the College as a part of the public school system of the State and believe that it has a duty to discharge, not only to those who study within its walls, but to that great body of people who for one reason or another will not enter this or any other school or college. The greatest amount of educational opportunity to the greatest number of people is its motto and its aim. Without reservation, members of its faculty stand for local taxation for public schools and for every movement which tends to secure to the State effective teaching for every child, preparing him for productive labor and intelligent citizenship. The institution undertakes to emphasize in every legitimate way that any system of education which refuses to recognize the equal educational rights of women with those of men is unjust, unwise, and permanently hurtful.

SOME DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE COLLEGE.

The College has several features which are not common to all colleges for women. Among them may be mentioned:

The regular courses of study have been arranged with a special view to preparing young women to teach.

Under no circumstances can any student receive free tuition without taking the pledge to become a teacher for at least two years after leaving the College.

All candidates for the teaching profession must, for a year, spend a part of each day in teaching under the supervision and kindly criticism of the head of the Department of Pedagogy and his assistants in the Training School for Teachers.

They must study psychology and pedagogics for at least two years.

They are required to take freehand drawing and vocal music.

All have an opportunity of taking a course in civil government, in order that they may be better fitted to teach in the schools of the State the duties, rights, and burdens of citizenship.

All have an opportunity of taking a three-years course in manual training.

Of the 333 young women who have received the College diploma during the past thirteen years, all except seventeen have taught since their graduation.

ITS REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER.

Established, controlled, and supported by the State, the College strives to render efficient and lasting service to the great body of people by whom it lives and for whom it labors. It would itself be the State in miniature, representing its people, exemplifying its spirit, cherishing its ideals, doing its work. To this end the College labors, and, in the successful attainment of this end, sees its purpose accomplished, its mission fulfilled. A State is its people; a college, its students; and a State college should, in the scope and character of its patronage, prove itself worthy of the name it bears. The best interests of the students and of the Commonwealth are served when that patronage is as wide as the State and as diverse as are the employments and professions of its people. Whatever success has attended the Normal and Industrial College during the past thirteen years has been due in no small measure to the representative character and spirit of the young women who have been its students. To them the institution has been an open door of opportunity, and the invitation thus tardily extended has been gladly accepted by representatives from all the ninety-seven counties and from every worthy type of home within the borders of the State. Among them are to be found the names of more than one hundred and fifty graduates of leading female colleges and seminaries, and a much larger number who received their previous training entirely in the rural public schools. In fact, it is the good fortune of the College to have had every type of respectable woman in North Carolina, from the one who has enjoyed the many privileges which money, social position, and liberal culture can give, to the girl whose absence from her humble home means increased toil and self-denial on the part of every member of the household.

THE RECORDS SHOW:

That during the past thirteen years the average number of students in the College has been about four hundred and fifty;

That the total number of matriculates has been over 3,000;

That almost one-third of the regular students defrayed their own expenses without help from parents;

That about two-thirds of them would not have attended any other North Carolina college;

That more than 80 per cent received their preparatory training partially or entirely in the public schools;

That about two-thirds of all the students enrolled, and more than nine-tenths of those who graduated, became teachers in North Carolina;

That more than two hundred thousand North Carolina children have been taught by the young women who have gone out from this institution.

Thus has been fulfilled the prophecy of Dr. McIver, written in 1890:

If the training school shall be established for white girls, it will make education possible to thousands who, under present conditions, must grow up in a state of ignorance and dependence; and in addition, North Carolina will secure a body of teachers who will bless her because she has blessed them.

The faculty of the institution have not failed to realize that there is a world beyond the college walls. Their labors have not been confined solely to class-room duties, as the following taken from the President's last report will indicate:

In addition to the teaching service of those whom it trains, the College has to its credit much educational and civic service performed every year by the members of the faculty during their vacation periods. Besides the work of the members of the faculty in connection with the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, the Southern Educational Association, the National Department of Superintendence, and the Southern Education Board, the College has had representatives conducting Institutes and doing other educational work for the teachers and citizens of one-third of the counties of North

Carolina; in the three large Summer Schools at Chapel Hill, Raleigh, and Davidson; at the Summer School of the South at Knoxville, and at the Summer Schools of South Carolina and Alabama. Through its students and faculty the Woman's Association for Public School Improvement was organized and much of the good work of that Association has been done by its representatives. A member of the faculty is the originator and moving spirit of the North Carolina Audubon Society. Several members of the faculty have rendered effective service to the cause of local taxation for schools in the State. No large movement for better public educational facilities in North Carolina has failed to have service from one or more representatives of the faculty.

BENEFACTORS.

It has been all too uncommon in North Carolina to be able to record gifts to the cause of woman's education. This sketch would, therefore, be incomplete did it fail to mention the benefactors of the institution. In addition to the State appropriation the College received during the first twelve years of its history \$3,000 annually from the Peabody Fund. For the past three years it has received \$2,500 annually from the General Education Board. To the same Board it is also indebted for \$7,500 given to duplicate a like amount raised by the alumnae as a loan and scholarship fund. A gift of \$11,000 has been contributed by Mr. George Foster Peabody of New York. A Library Building, costing \$18,868, is the gift of Mr. Andrew Carnegie. The Students' Building, a gift which means more than any single donation of money, represents the affection and loyalty of its daughters and those whom they have been able to interest in their alma mater. A gift of \$1,500 from Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Bailey, who lost their only children while students at this College, was made as a subscription to the Students' Building. Mr. and Mrs. Bailey have also established a permanent scholarship to be known as "The Sarah and Evelyn Bailey Scholarship." Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Buxton, in 1893, established the "Jarvis Buxton Loan Fund" of \$100, in memory of their little son. Soon after this Mr. and Mrs. Josephus Daniels established the "Adelaide Worth Daniels Loan Fund" of \$100, in memory of their lit-

the daughter. These funds, while small, have aided in the education of several students. In 1896, General and Mrs. Julian S. Carr established the "Lida Carr Fellowship Fund," the income from which is \$200 a year. Charles Broadway Rouss of New York gave one hundred dollars to be used as a loan fund to the daughter of a Confederate soldier. Mr. and Mrs. V. Everit Macy of New York gave \$1,000, to be used as a loan fund. The late Judge John Gray Bynum bequeathed the College \$1,000, to be known as the Hennie Bynum Scholarship, to be used as a loan fund for the aid of some young woman from Burke County.

By means of all these agencies a very large number of young women have been enabled to prepare themselves for their life-work.

SPIRIT OF THE INSTITUTION.

The spirit of the institution is worthy of the State that created it. The State is always the gainer when its teachers can be trained in an atmosphere of equality which recognizes the worth of honest toil and fruitful service, regardless of class distinctions of all kinds. With a seriousness of purpose nowhere surpassed, and an earnest yet kindly striving for the higher standards of life and thought, here annually gather more than five hundred students representing the State in their political and religious faith, their financial condition, their professional and social life, and in their intellectual ability and previous educational opportunity. Here is no hatred of wealth, no contempt for poverty, no jealousy engendered by feverish struggles for social leadership; but an air redolent of courtesy, self-help, and equal opportunity, with cheerful tribute paid to moral and intellectual worth. Woman here loses none of her womanliness, but gains something of strength; loses none of her local patriotism, but sweetens it with tolerance and charity; loses none of her family pride, but enriches it with the wholesome spirit of a sound democracy.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

CHARLES LEE RAPER.

The Historical Society of North Carolina goes back for its foundation to 1833. In 1836 it was moved from Raleigh to Chapel Hill. During its long life, though it has not accomplished great things, it has rendered a permanent service to the people of the State. It has at various times collected a very considerable amount of manuscript material dealing with the life and achievements of the people of North Carolina. It has also collected a considerable number of books and pamphlets on general American history. Much of its manuscript material has been published in the Colonial Records, State Records, University Magazine, and James Sprunt Historical Monographs. The Society receives the publications of more than fifty historical societies. In exchange for these it sends out the James Sprunt Historical Monographs, an annual publication by the Department of History of the University, the financial support of which comes from the generous Mr. James Sprunt of Wilmington, N. C.

The Society holds six meetings annually, and at these meetings papers on North Carolina are presented by the instructors and students in the Department of History of the University. Its permanent officers are: K. P. Battle, LL.D., President; C. L. Raper, Ph.D., permanent Secretary; M. C. S. Noble, Treasurer.

THE WACHOVIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ADELAIDE L. FRIES.

The object of this Society shall be the collection, preservation, and dissemination of everything relating to the history, antiquities, and literature of the Moravian Church in the South, and the secular and religious development of North Carolina and the adjoining States.

This section of the constitution not only defines the purpose for which the Wachovia Historical Society was organized, but outlines the work which has actually been done; and there is much which has been accomplished during the few years of the Society's existence.

The first step toward the formation of the Wachovia Historical Society was taken by the Young Men's Missionary Society of the Moravian Church, Salem, N. C., in February, 1894, when a committee was appointed to consider the matter. The idea was received with favor, and on March 18, 1895, the Society was formally organized with thirty-six members; the constitution was adopted, and officers were elected, Mr. Henry F. Shaffner being the first President.

At this time the Young Men's Missionary Society possessed a number of things which had been accumulating gradually for some fifty years. There were curios from the mission fields, mineral specimens and stuffed birds, old coins, and local curiosities, the treasure-trove of varying interests and fancies of the young men, who now offered to give their collection to the Historical Society. This made the securing of proper rooms a matter of immediate and vital importance; but two years passed before any could be found that seemed altogether suitable. During the interval the Historical Society met only through its Executive Committee, but the delay was well worth while, as it resulted in the acquirement of an ideal place for the museum.

For one hundred and two years the Moravian boys of Salem had been educated in the two-story brick building which stands on the corner of Main and Academy streets; but the school outgrew its quarters, and in 1896 it was determined to erect a modern house for its accommodation. The old building, with its massive walls, tile roof, and detached position, required little alteration to make it practically fire-proof, and the Board of Trustees of the Moravian Congregation decided to utilize it as an archive-house. Two rooms on the second floor were selected as the repository for the Church's collection of books and papers, including the manuscript diaries of a hundred and fifty years, which cover the entire story of the Moravians in Carolina, and give many valuable side-lights on the general history of the times. The first floor, a large double room on the second floor, and the third floor were offered to the Wachovia Historical Society, and gladly accepted.

The Young Men's Missionary Society collection was divided, the natural history and mineral specimens being given to the Boys' School, as the nucleus of a museum there, while the articles of historic interest were moved to the new rooms; and with this the activity of the Wachovia Historical Society may be said to have commenced. The Recording Secretary and the Librarian, Messrs. B. J. and W. S. Pfohl, threw themselves heart and soul into the work, and with wonderful rapidity the rooms were filled with a multitude of quaint and curious articles. The collection is regarded with honest pride by all the members and friends of the Society, and visitors from other places say that it is one of the finest to be found anywhere outside of the large cities, and marvel that an unpretentious, quiet neighborhood has been able to bring together so many things of real interest and historic value. The first floor contains the huge press on which Cornwallis printed his proclamation at Hillsboro; a quaint little fire-engine, probably the oldest in America; the implements of many crafts and trades, from the clumsy mangle to the sil-

versmith's crucible; and many a memento of olden days, such as the watchman's conch-shell trumpet, the first shell that flew over the heads of the company that went from Salem into the Confederate Army, and the spire of the old Forsyth court-house.

In the large room on the second floor are old Bibles and tune-books, pictures, and the more valuable small articles. This room is also used for the annual meetings of the Society.

On the third floor are musical instruments, including a spinet to which George Washington listened when on a visit to Salem, also newspaper files, scrap-books of interesting short articles, and the beginnings of a library.

It was considered important to collect the souvenirs of former days before the passing of the older generation scattered them beyond recovery, and hitherto the greatest energy has been turned in that direction, and little has been done toward the acquisition of histories and books of reference; but a start has been made, and it is hoped that in time the library will come to equal the museum in value.

Historical research has been fostered by the annual meeting of the Society, held in October, which is always largely attended, the papers being listened to with much interest. The early records of the Moravian Church in Wachovia offer an attractive field for investigation, and various papers have been based upon the results of painstaking perusal of the fine German script, which was officially used until a comparatively recent date. Advance chapters of Dr. J. H. Clew-ell's "History of Wachovia" were read in 1900, and two years later the Society congratulated the author, then its presiding officer, upon the publication of his valuable and interesting book. Old legends of Salem and its vicinity, personal reminiscences, obsolete customs, have furnished topics for other papers, and subjects of more general import have been presented by members and the honored guests who have addressed them from time to time. It is customary to publish the papers in the columns of the *Wachovia Moravian*, which

is issued by the Southern Province of the Moravian Church, and is also the organ of the Wachovia Historical Society.

One notable achievement of the Society was the successful celebration of the Sesqui-centennial of Wachovia, November 13 to 17, 1903. The matter was broached at the annual meeting in 1902. The formal approval of the Society was given, and all the assistance that could be rendered was freely offered. During the months that followed officers of the Society spared neither time nor labor in the effort to frame a fitting celebration, and the success which attended them was so conspicuous as to need no comment. Under their direction committees were organized, plans were made and executed, programs were prepared and carried out, with a happy mingling of present enthusiasm and permanent result.

Friday, November 13th, was spent at Bethabara, the site of the first Moravian settlement in North Carolina. Here a monument was erected by the Historical Society to the memory of those who selected the Wachovia Tract in 1752, and to the settlers who came in 1753. The millstone, which had been found on the spot where it had rested for a hundred and fifty years, was brought up to bear the tablet identifying the Fort, whose angles are now marked with granite pillars. The ground on which the first hut stood was bought, and the precise spot marked; and on the "God's Acre" the graves of the first settlers were strewn with flowers. As the immense concourse of people moved quietly from place to place appropriate exercises were held, and papers were read giving the history of the early settlement as suggested by the localities. In addition to these monuments and tablets, each Moravian Church in the Southern Province erected some local memorial to commemorate the event, this idea being suggested by the same central committee. The celebration was continued in various ways until November 17th, the actual anniversary day, the Wachovia Historical Society holding its annual meeting on the evening of the 14th, when more historical papers were read and several addresses made, the public being invited.

On December 11, 1904, the attention of the literary world was attracted to Salem by the reinterment there of the remains of the poet, John Henry Boner. Mr. Boner was a native of Salem, and after his death and burial at Washington, D. C., the desire, which had been expressed in one of his poems, that at last he might rest beneath the cedars in the beautiful God's Acre of his childhood's home, moved a number of his literary friends to the fulfilment of his wish. Officers of the Wachovia Historical Society arranged for the services, which were conducted by the pastor of the Moravian Church, in the presence of a very large congregation.

The Society is now formulating plans for wider influence and increased activity, and will welcome into its ranks any who feel an interest in the work for which it stands.

The present officers of the Society are as follows:

President, B. J. Pfohl.

First Vice-President, F. H. Fries.

Second Vice-President, J. C. Buxton.

Third Vice-President, Mrs. Lindsay Patterson.

Fourth Vice-President, Mrs. J. F. Shaffner, Sr.

Fifth Vice-President, H. A. Pfohl.

Sixth Vice-President, Miss E. A. Lehman.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Adelaide Fries.

Recording Secretary, W. S. Pfohl.

Treasurer, W. C. Crist.

Librarian, J. A. Lineback.

Executive Committee: Rt. Rev. Edward Rondthaler, Miss Emma Vogler, W. A. Blair, Mrs. H. T. Bahnson, W. F. Shaffner.

PAMPTICOE AND BATH, NORTH CAROLINA.

LIDA TUNSTALL RODMAN.

The first permanent settlement in the "fair and spacious province of Carolina" was made in the county of Albemarle, about 1660, or possibly as early as 1650. The authorities all agree as to those dates. Emigration, extending southward, soon after reached the region known as Pampticoe. It is recorded that, in 1690,* a French colony migrated from the James River settlement and took up its abode along the fertile shores of the streams in Pampticoe.

In 1681 a large grant† of land was made to (the notorious) Governor Seth Sothell; containing, in the words of the deed, "twelve thousand aeres, of which plantation, etc., is commonly called by the name of Pampticoe Town. Beginning at a creek, etc., and running from the said creek up along the northerly side of Pampticoe River to Pampticoe Town Creek, etc. Given the 10th day of November, 1681.‡ Witness, etc., Seth Sothell, Rich. Foster, Arthur Slocum, James Blount."

In his prefatory notes to Volume II of Colonial Records, page 9, Colonel Saunders says: "Inured to danger and accustomed to meet it unaided, and seeing no strength in the government over them, save that which lay in their own strong arms and brave hearts, the people of North Carolina, as might have been expected, felt but little respect for the Lords Proprietors or their representatives. When the government was in accord with the people, it was well; when it was not,

*Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 10, pref. notes.

†The grant to Seth Sothell is in the Secretary of State's office, Raleigh; it is also recorded in the court-house in Washington, N. C.

‡Later, in a deed, May 4, 1706, a tract of 640 acres, on Pampticough, called Ye Old Town, was granted to Christopher Gale; this, says a practical surveyor, is in the heart of the Sothell grant. The deed is on sheepskin, and signed by Thomas Cary, Samuel Swann, John Ardern, Thomas Pollock, W. Glover, Francis Foster, Edward Moseley, and Tobias Knight, Secretary. The price, six pounds eight shillings, is receipted on the back by Cary and Knight. This old document is contained in the papers belonging to the estate of the late John Gray Blount, of Washington, N. C.

so much the worse for the government." After enumerating the Governors deposed by the Carolinians from 1675 and on, he continues: "The next was Seth Sothell or Southwell, whom, in 1689, the Assembly formally banished from the colony for one year and from the government for all time. He was surprised, so the story goes, upon his own plantation and clapt into a Logg House and there kept prisoner until he renounced the government and took and subscribed a strange oath.* Sothell was not only a Governor, but a maker of Governors, for he was a Lord Proprietor, and as such a chartered absolute master of the soil, if not of the people as well, of Carolina." He was so shameless in his misrule and rapacity that, when the people cast him off, his brother Proprietors did not attempt to reinstate him. His grant, as mentioned, included the present site of the town of Bath, that having been the location of the old Indian town of Pampticoe. Sothell also owned a plantation on Pasquotank River on which, in his will, he says he has lived "four years and two-thirds of his seignory."†

The first "Grand Assembly"—though called thus by the Lords Proprietors and the people, the real legal name was General Assembly—was held in 1664-'65.‡ Prior to this the settlers had been under Virginia's rule, Governor Berkeley, of that State, granting land in Albemarle up to September 25, 1663. Soon after the first Assembly, if not at that time, the region south of Albemarle was known as the precinct of Pampticoe, in the county of Archdale; delegates were sent to the Assemblies from Pampticoe; also, commissions and writs issued for that precinct previous to 1696. And, December 9, of that year, at a Palatine's court, held at the house of Hon. Francis Jones, John Archdale, Governor of North and South Carolina, the precinct of Pampticoe was created a county; and by the "special direction of the Governor named the county of Bath.§ It was further

*Colonial Records, Vol. III, p. 618.

†Wheeler's History, First Edition, p. 89, Vol. II.

‡Colonial Records, Vol. I, pref. notes, p. 32.

§Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 472.

ordered that "a writ be issued to the inhabitants to make choice of two Burgesses to sit in the Grand Assembly to be holden at the house of Thomas Nicolo, the 18 Jan. next."

Archdale evidently named the county in honor of John, Earl of Bath, who a few months later (April, 1697), on the death of the Earl of Craven, became Palatine of Carolina. After that the official meetings of the Lords Proprietors were held at his Lordship's house in St. James.*

Albemarle possessed advantages over Bath; first, in being nearer the older colony of Virginia, and second, restrictions were placed by the government against making settlements or taking up land south of Albemarle, notwithstanding the commands of the Lords Proprietors to plant colonies southward on the "Pamphleco and Newse rivers."† They, however, gave instructions to settle three towns; the chief to be on Roanoke Island, the second to be on Little River, the third between Salmon Creek and Roanoke River; these to be the "only places where ships shall lade and unlade." It is one thing to build towns on paper, while sitting in a palace with an ocean rolling between, but an entirely different proposition to the struggling settlers surrounded by "enemy Indians," as the savages were termed. The towns advised by the Lords Proprietors did not materialize, for the reason, probably, that a violent storm‡ occurred, about 1693, and "altered the very course of nature," closing the inlet at Roanoke to such an extent as to render it almost useless as a port of entry; this so deepened the water at Ocracoke Inlet that vessels were compelled to enter there, the Port of Ocracoke being established later. This, also, gave an impetus to the settlement of Pampticoe, where deeper water was to be found. The natural advantages at this point were such that hopes were entertained of its becoming the commercial center of the Province.

In 1696 the Pampticoe Indians suffered from some dread disease, thought to have been smallpox;§ in consequence of

*Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 476, and Vol. IV, p. 1200.

†Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 223-9.

‡History of North Carolina (Martin), p. 195.

§History of North Carolina (Martin), p. 200.

this the Indians finally abandoned their village of Pampticoe, on the present site of Bath Town; the fine location was appreciated by the white settlers, who lost no time in taking possession. Here, the waters of Old Town Creek and Bath Creek uniting form a bay, and make a natural and safe harbor, extending a mile and a half; this, combined with the width of Pamlico River, into which it flows, presents an imposing sheet of water five miles wide. Settlers of wealth and intelligence, we are told, were attracted; and March 8, 1705, at a meeting of the Assembly, held at the house of Capt. John Heckenfield on Little River, the town of Bath was formally incorporated, the first in North Carolina to receive this honor. The original act of incorporation has not been preserved; but in 1715 the Assembly passed a second act, recording the time and place of the first incorporation and naming the original commissioners (Mr. John Lawson, Mr. Joel Martin, and Mr. Nicholas Daw); to these were added Mr. John Porter, Mr. Thomas Harding, and Capt. John Drinkwater. The land is described in this act as "being a part of a larger tract then belonging to one David Perkins, but now in the tenure and possession and of right belonging to Col. Thomas Cary." This later action of the Assembly was doubtless necessary owing to the confusion into which business of all kinds had been thrown by the "Cary Rebellion" and the succeeding Indian War. John Lillington's house was burned and papers destroyed by Indians, for which cause he prays permission of the Council to make resurveys, in 1714.* This is one of many instances showing the grievous destruction of records during that unhappy period.

In December, 1705,† at a meeting of the Governor's Council, at the house of the Hon. Edward Moseley in Chowan, the following enactment was made: "This Board taking into their serious consideration that the county of Bath is now

* Colonial Records, Vol. II, p. 141.

† Ibid., Vol. I, p. 629.

grown populous and daily increasing, do hereby order that three precincts be erected in the said county, bounding as follows, viz.: The precinct of Pamptecough, lying on the north side of Pamptecough River and beginning at Moline's Creek, and westerly to the head of the river; the precinct of Wickham, beginning at the said Moline's Creek, so including all the lands and rivers from said creek to Mathepungo Bluff; and the precinct of Archdale, taking all the inhabitants of Newse. And it is hereby further ordered, that every of the aforesaid precincts shall choose two members to sit and vote in all succeeding Assemblies, pursuant to act of Assembly."

John Lawson, Gent., Surveyor-General of North Carolina, and one of the original commissioners for the laying off the town of Bath and for the sale of lots, wrote the first history of the State. He very prettily dedicated it to the Lords Proprietors "for their favors to him." His journal records that he started from Charlestown (South Carolina), "December 28, 1700, in company with six Englishmen and three Indians; finally reaching the banks of Pampticough, they came safe to Mr. Richard Smith's plantation, where, being well received by the inhabitants and pleased with the goodness of the country, we all resolved to stay."

Probably Bath* Town was so called in honor of the ancient town of Bath in England, which, though of early Roman origin, being the Roman *Aquæ Solis*, or "baths of the sun," attained its greatest importance under the influence of Beau Nash, a leader of fashion in England, sometimes called the "King of Bath," as he was the master of ceremonies at that fashionable watering-place; which was in the height of its social glory about 1701-'05.

Many of the early settlers in Bath County came from prominent families in England. Indubitable testimony of the refinement, generous hospitality, and good living of that

* It is interesting to note that the town of Bath, Maine, was incorporated in 1780; and that the States of New York and Georgia both have towns called by this name.

generation remains in the old landmarks and records. The records show the ownership of land by Charles Eden, Lawson, Christopher Gale, Joel Martin, William Glover, Thomas Cary, Matthew Rowan, Lionel Reading, John Baptista Ashe, Edward Worsley, William West, Maurice Moore, Thomas Pollock, Lillington, Thomas Blount, Simon Alderson, Nicholas Daw, David Perkins, Thomas Sparrow, Thomas Roper, Edmund Porter, William and Patrick Maule, Wheriot Ormond, Peyton, Thomas Deerham, Thomas Respass, Robert Tripp, John Lovick, and among the French are the names of Pasteur, Rhoulhae, Pacquenet, Real, Ricusset, Delamere, and many others that have descended to us with more or less prominence. Bath County was the cradle of much of our early history, for some of the stirring events of the colonial days took place there.

The votes of this people in the Assembly were cast, for a time, in harmony with the Quakers* of Perquimans and Pasquotank; evidently to obtain political advantage, as there were very few, if any, of that sect in Pampticoe; it was only in combination with the Pampticoe delegates that these Quakers could have a majority in the Assembly against the Albemarle delegation, and without the Quakers Pampticoe would have had a minor showing. From the time of Archdale, 1694, the Quakers flourished and opposed all legislation for establishing the Church of England; however, in 1701, the Vestry Act† was passed. This provided for the election of vestry and maintaining clergymen according to the usages of the Church of England, though not requiring conformity thereto. The parishes were established according to divisions and precincts. An extract from the act is as follows: "The remaining part of Pamplioo River and the branches thereof, * * * to be one parish by the name of St. Thomas Parish." Lawson's History‡ says: "The Lords Proprietors,

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 28.

† Ibid., Vol. II, p. 208. There is no copy in existence of the Act of 1701, but that of 1715 is substantially the same.

‡ Page 275, edition 1860.

to encourage ministers of the Church of England, have given free land towards the maintenance of a church, and especially for the parish of St. Thomas in Pampticough; over against the town is already laid out for a glebe of two hundred and twenty acres of rich, well-situated land, that a parsonage-house may be built upon." The names of the twelve vestrymen, in 1715, were: "Hon. Charles Eden, Col. Christopher Gale, Tobias Knight, Mr. John Porter, Dan. Richardson, Esq., Mr. Thomas Worsley, Capt. John Drinkwater, Capt. John Clark, Mr. John Adams, Mr. Patrick Maule, Mr. Thomas Harding, Mr. John Lillington."

In 1706, Christopher Gale, Gent.,* of the county of Albe-marle, bought lots in Bath Town, and became a resident. He, with John Lawson and Dr. Maurice Llewellyn, owned a mill, "house-mill," located on Gale's lot. Their agreement,† October 23, 1707, says "that no one should grind any grain but what is properly for his own family's use; 2d, by that no one shall give leave to any other party to grind unless with the consent of the three parties." The want of suitable mills for grinding their corn and wheat was a great inconvenience to the people. Every inducement was offered to encourage this industry; mill-sites were granted free and made public property. Only the wealthy could afford hand-mills, the poorer classes pounding their grain in mortars. It is recorded that in 1710 "there was in the whole province only one wretched water-mill." Christopher Gale was a zealous member of the Church of England, a son of Rev. Miles Gale, and a near relation of the Dean of York, distinguished as a scholar, author, and divine. Rev. Mr. Dennis writes:‡ "I lodged at Major Gale's, a very civil gentleman, at whose house the people meet each Sunday, where a young gentleman, a lawyer, was appointed to read prayers and a sermon, they having no minister." There were many in the province who greatly longed for the privileges of holy church; and in the

* Records in court-house, Washington, N. C., Book 1, p. 36.

† Ibid., p. 87.

‡ History N. C. (Hawks), Vol. II, p. 316.

latter part of 1699 or early in 1700, the Rev. Dr. Bray, commissary to the Bishop of London, and secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, came to North Carolina.* He "sent in some books of his own pious gift of the explanation of the catechism, with some other smaller to be disposed of and lent as we thought fit. It did in some measure put a stop to their (the Quakers) growth. And about a year after did send to us a library of books for the benefit of this place, given by the honorable the Corporation for the Establishing the Christian Religion." May, 1709, Rev. William Gordon writes:† "Here is no church, though they have begun to build a town called Bath. It consists of about twelve houses, being the only town in the whole province. They have a small collection of books for a library, which were carried by the Rev. Dr. Bray, and some land laid out for a glebe. * * * I must own it is not the unpleasantest part of the country—nay, in all probability it will be the center of trade as having the advantage of a better inlet for shipping, and surrounded with most pleasant savannas, very useful for stocks of cattle."

The possession of this library was greatly desired. In 1713‡ the vestry of St. Paul's Parish laments the "unhappy inscription on the back of the books or title-page, viz.: 'Belonging to the parish of St. Thomas, Pamlico,' in the then rising, but now miserable county of Bath, falsely supposed to be the seat of government." Rev. Mr. Urmstone writes:§ "This is he (Gale) that chiefly hindered me from having the Library." Again he writes: "I did, indeed, after the decease of Mr. Adams, demand his books, but was denied; and so will every one that is not musket-proof. They will do by them as the gentry of Bath have done with that famous library the Rev. Dr. Bray sent in, value £100." The fate of this "library" is as much a mystery¶ as is that of the silver

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 572.

† Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 715.

‡ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 119.

§ Ibid., p. 285.

¶ Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire has stated that probably this library came into the hands of Col. Edward Moseley and was identical with the one presented to the town of Edenton by him, in 1732.

communion service, said to have been given by Queen Anne. We know that she gave a bell; for this priceless relic, becoming cracked from age, was sent North soon after the War Between the States and recast.

Possibly the gift of the library was secured to St. Thomas Parish through the influence of Robert Daniel, a Landgrave of Carolina. He was as devoted a churchman as his friend Nathaniel Johnston, Governor of Carolina and resident of South Carolina; by him, Daniel was appointed Deputy Governor of North Carolina, in 1704. Robert Daniel owned three plantations* in Bath County. The one on the north side of Pamlico River, on which it is presumed that he lived, was on the west side of Bath Creek, a short distance from the town by water. Some years later this place became the residence of Tobias Knight. The deed from Governor Daniel's widow to Knight is among the early records of Bath County. Two of these plantations escheated to the Proprietors, but were later resurveyed and regranted, as appears in the deed to Knight.

Governor Daniel, upon the accession of Queen Anne, required the Quakers to take the oath of allegiance. They refused, and using their influence, deposed him. Col. Thomas Cary, a resident of Bath County, was appointed in his stead. For a time the entire colony accepted Cary's rule; grants and other documents were issued by him, signed by William Glover, Samuel Swann, John Arden, Thomas Pollock, Francis Foster, Edward Moseley, and Tobias Knight. When Cary, in his turn, enforced the taking of oaths by all officials, trouble began to brew. The Quakers stoutly refused, and taking advantage of this break, the opposing party, headed by Thomas Pollock, elected William Glover President of the Council in opposition to Cary as Governor. About this time the Quakers sent John Porter to England to appeal to

* Book 1 County Records of Beaufort, in court-house at Washington.

the Lords Proprietors for the removal of Cary. Porter has been called the cleverest politician of his age; he seems to have been an exceedingly agile one, for returning from England clothed with power, he first supported Glover, and then with some change in the political horoscope, he as quickly lent his aid to the Cary faction, of which he became a prime adherent. The colony was the scene of bitter political strife from 1708 to 1711. Unfortunately, the records of Cary, Moseley, and Porter have not come down to us. We have the opposition side alone, which was that of strong allegiance to the Lords Proprietors. Clearly, it was not a fight on religious grounds entirely, as both Quaker and Church of England men were enrolled under the Cary banner. The authorities agree that the settlers of North Carolina were headstrong from the beginning, and cared very little for their royal masters when the individual rights of the people were in question. The struggle between the two parties, each claiming legal authority, continued, and for "two years and upwards no law, no justice, assembly or courts of judicature, so that people did and said what they list."*

William Edmundson and George Fox, the great Quaker leaders, visited Albemarle as early as 1672-'76. They made numbers of converts, Perquimans and Pasquotank being the strongholds of the Friends. There is no evidence that they held much, if any, foothold in Bath. The part played by the people of Bath in the Cary faction was undoubtedly to assert the rights of the individual to certain privileges in the government, and to obtain the seat of government for the town and county, with the ensuing political and trade importance and benefit. About this time a number of the most prominent people in the colony bought lots in Bath Town. Cary owned a front lot, as did, also, Maurice Moore, "Gent., late of South Carolina." His lot adjoined that of Edward Moseley. There were many others, as shown by the old records of the county in the court-house in Washington. There is a

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 768.

break in these records from January 9, 1710, to February 20, 1715, which embraces the period of the Cary disturbances and the Indian War. Courts were held at the houses of James Nevill and Thomas Barrow of Bath County, in 1706, and at Bath Town in 1707.

In the summer of 1710, Edward Hyde arrived from England, having been sent over to become Deputy Governor; in the interim of the voyage Colonel Tynte, Governor of Carolina, with official residence in the South of Carolina, who was to give him his commission, had died; he was, therefore, in a predicament: unable to prove his claim except through the medium of private letters and his kinship to Queen Anne. The Pollock and Glover faction accepted Mr. Hyde on the strength of his private papers and "the awful respect" due to his family. Cary, Moseley, Porter, and their followers, contended that without his commission Mr. Hyde held no authority. The matter culminated in the summer of 1711 and was called "Cary's Rebellion." It marks an early resistance of the people to British authority.

Of Edward Moseley it has been said "that the great debt of gratitude North Carolina will ever owe to him is due to his undying love of free government and his indomitable maintenance of the rights of the people."^{*}

A graphic description occurs in a letter of Rev. Mr. Dennis to the Secretary as follows:† "I found the people all in confusion and disorder, every one getting their arms, and were in readiness to go down to a place called Pamplico to take one Colonel Cary, who was late President, and had got the lords' money in his hands and would neither lodge it in the Assembly's hands nor give them sufficient security for the indemnifying the people from the lords. * * * I resolved to go forward; so sending my horses and guide back, I crossed Roanoke River, and then was obliged to travel six miles on foot, there being no such thing as a horse to be had. At length I got one, and that night reached Governor Hyde's, where I found abundance of men in arms. * * * He

* Colonial Records, Vol. IV, pref. notes, p. 12.

† Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 803-4.

told me he was designed for Pamlico (otherwise called Hampton), the place where Colonel Cary lived. But, he having notice of our coming, made his escape to a house of one Colonel Daniels, which was a small way down the river. The Governor did not think fit to pursue him that day, but on the next went down with his men, at which time Colonel Cary had fortified the house with five pieces of cannon. They could not bring him to any terms that were reasonable, and finding they were so well fortified, marched back again without any action. There was a young gentleman, a relation of Mr. Hyde, killed by accident. June 1st, the Governor with his men marched up the country again, and I remained at Hampton waiting for my passage. The vessel being not ready, I lodged at Major Gale's. * * * Colonel Cary, finding the Governor gone, infused into the people that that Assembly was not duly elected, and that Governor Hyde was not Governor, having no commission sent him, and, therefore, he could not comply with their demand; and one Mr. Roach, a merchant, which are proprietors, backing the said Colonel Cary, with assuring the people that Colonel Hyde was not designed Governor, raised the affections of the people towards Colonel Cary and incensed them against Governor Hyde, Colonel Pollock, and other gentlemen of the Governor's Council. What the end will be I know not, being obliged away from this place."

A short time after the foregoing occurrences, Colonel Cary and followers boarded a brigantine, belonging to Emanuel Low, mounted with cannon, and sailed up Chowan Sound,* "wearing his flag at the topmast head, within gunshot of the place where Mr. Hyde and his Council lay." This was in front of Colonel Pollock's plantation. Baron de Graffenreid, who had but recently arrived with his Swiss and German colony and settled on the shores of Neuse River, was attending this meeting of the Council at Colonel Pollock's. He

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 795 and 917. De Graffenreid says: "Two cannon-shots were fired against the house and scratched the roof; we fired a couple of cannon-balls in the direction of the brigantine, but without causing any damage. Finally fear seized them in such a way that they hauled up sails and took flight."

† Ibid., 916.

has no good words for Cary, though admitting that "He† was the one who, according to my letters patent and to the orders of the LL. Proprietors, was to supply me with necessaries out of the revenue of the Province." He applied to Cary; they did not come to terms, and he then sided with Governor Hyde and the Pollock party, by whom he was sent to Virginia to procure assistance to capture Cary and install Hyde.

The Spotswood letter of July 28, 1711, says: "Mr. Hyde informs me he (Cary) is drawing together a greater force at Pamlico, and fortifying the house of one Roach, where is the rendezvous of his Quaker crew."

Richard Roach lived on Pamlico, in or near Bath Town. Out of his store he furnished guns and ammunition, belonging to his employer, to Cary and his followers. He was either a partner or agent for a house in London, to which John Danson belonged; Danson was Archdale's son-in-law,* and in consequence became later a Proprietor. He was a Quaker, and so was Roach, professedly. From these facts it is deemed probable that there was an understanding between the Quakers in Albemarle and their friends in England.†

Finally, Cary and his leaders, John Porter, Levy Truwhit, Challingwood† Ward, George Lumley, and others, were impeached of high crimes by the General Assembly and committed to the custody of the Provost Marshal, from whom they made their escape and went to Virginia. An extract from Governor Spotswood's report to the Lords Proprietors, July 31, 1711, says:‡ "Upon my arrival at this place I found Colonel Cary, Levy Treuwitt, etc., blustering and pretending to have a passage in the fleet for their going to England, in order to justify their action; whereupon I had them brought before me. But they plainly discovered they intended nothing less than a fair trial at your Lordships' board. Wherefore, seeing they would give me no security for such appearance, I have sent them home in the Reserve and Tyger,

* Hawks' Hist. N. C., Vol. II, p. 521. See footnote to 522.

† Correct spelling "Collingwood." He lived near Bath. Truwhit was Clerk of the Court at that place.

‡ Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 800-6.

men of war, believing the greatest justice I can do them is to leave them to your Lordships' examination."

In November following,* Colonel Cary appeared before the Proprietors at a meeting at the Duke of Beaufort's house; and it was ordered that Mr. Hyde's accusation be handed him. Hawks says:† "Cary subsequently returned to Carolina; and thence went to the West Indies, after which we have found no further trace of him." He further says Cary was never tried, from the difficulty of sending testimony to England, and that after this no prisoner was ever transmitted there to be tried for treason. This seems rather unjust, with the light we have from the Spotswood report, before quoted, which does not by any means call them prisoners, but says: "They plainly discovered they intended nothing less than a fair trial at your Lordships' board"; and continues, as if in justification: "Seeing they would give me no security for such appearance, I have sent them home in the Reserve and Tyger." If they were prisoners of state, they seem to have been very willing ones, as they had been "blustering and pretending to have a passage in the fleet."

De Graffenreid says of Cary:‡ "He was prosecuted, * * * happily for him, however, two lords took his part and saved his life; he was liberated on bail, a judge was assigned him in Carolina, in order that he could defend himself there—where the case was delayed so long that to-day sentence is not passed."

As the summer of 1711 waned, dark disaster hovered over the colony, especially Bath County; following close upon the heels of the Cary troubles came the cruel Indian massacre and war. Cary and his adherents were accused, with much bitterness, of inciting the Indians to war upon the whites. This seems too horrible for belief; but it is certain that the unhappy divisions, in which all were involved, created an opportunity for the inhuman work of the savages. The

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 818-19.

† Hawks' Hist. N. C., Vol. II, p. 525.

‡ Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 920.

whites were entirely unprepared. Their relations with the Indians had been peaceable for some years. One authority says: "The Indians were employed as domestics; and were permitted, without suspicion or alarm, to have free ingress or egress to or from their dwellings." This may have been true in the main, but the correspondence in the months preceding the occurrence shows that apprehensions of an uprising were entertained.

The Tuscaroras were the leaders of the outbreak, and engaged with them were the less powerful Meherrins, Cotechmys, Mattamoskeets, Corees, and Matchapungos. Their plans to slaughter the entire colony by a simultaneous uprising were so craftily laid that no suspicion was aroused. At sunrise, the concerted signal, September 22, 1711, the butchery of the inhabitants began, lasting three days. There were one hundred and thirty victims on Roanoke, sixty or more of the Palatines on Neuse, but of Bath and vicinity the number "we know not, of those who fell under the knife or tomahawk." It is further said that "this blow was so hotly followed by the hellish crew that we could not bury our dead, so that they were left for prey to the dogs, and wolves, and vultures, whilst our care was to strengthen our garrison to secure the living."*

Christopher Gale relates that in the space of two hours one hundred and thirty people were butchered after the most barbarous manner and their dead bodies used with all the scorn and indignity imaginable; their houses plundered of considerable riches, then burned, and their growing and hopeful crops destroyed. He mentions particularly the entire destruction of Mr. Nevill and his family, with the indignities paid to their dead bodies. The Nevill home was on the south side of Pamlico River, and Nevill's Creek perpetuates their name and place of residence.

In remembrance of this fearful disaster, and of the many precious lives sacrificed, the 22d of September was observed

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 827.

by the colony as a day of fasting and prayer until the repeal of the law, April 4, 1741.

Baron de Graffenreid and Lawson had gone on a visit of exploration to the Indian towns; Gale was to have gone with them, but was detained by the sickness of his wife and brother. "This," he writes,* "I may call a happy sickness for me."

De Graffenreid says:† "At Catchena we were warned to go back. * * * We met Indians armed as if they had come from hunting. I said that I did not like the looks of things and that we ought to turn back at once; but the Surveyor-General laughed at me. We had hardly turned our backs, when things began to look more serious, and laughter, in a twinkling, expired on his lips." Both Lawson and De Graffenreid were captured, and during the imprisonment Lawson quarreled with Cor Tom, king of the village Core. This must have decided his fate; he was separated from the Baron and taken to within a mile of Core Point—the spot is pointed out to-day—and was there killed with horrible cruelty; his body, as was reported, being stuck full of light-wood splinters, like a hog's bristles, then set on fire. In his history Lawson had claimed that this was the only instance of a colony being planted in peace and without bloodshed of the natives. De Graffenreid was kept a prisoner six weeks, "always in fear of unutterable dangers and sorrows." He further says: "Alas! what a sad sight for me to see the women and children prisoners. It nearly rent my heart. The first came from Pamptego, the others from News and Trent."

As soon after the massacre as possible, Maj. Christopher Gale was sent to Charleston for aid. His letter from that place says:‡ "On Sunday, October 21, I arrived here in the capacity of an agent, * * * to procure the assistance of the government to destroy our enemies, which I doubt not

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 825.

† Ibid., p. 926.

‡ Ibid., p. 826.

in a little time to effect. The family I left in garrison at Bath Town, my wife and brother pretty well recovered; but what has happened since I know not. Two days after I left town, at daybreak (which is the Indians' usual time of attack), above 100 guns were heard, which must have been an attack by the Indians upon some of our garrisons, which are, in all, eleven in number." This was a perilous journey that Gale took for the relief of his fellow colonists; and on his return trip he was captured and imprisoned by the French. When he finally got back to Pampticoe the inhabitants expressed their gratitude by presenting him with a purse of money and proclaiming him Colonel of Bath County. His learning and high character, as well as the position of his family in England, gave him great influence; and he held nearly every office in the colony, later being made Attorney-General and then Chief Justice, the first in North Carolina. In subsequent years he gave up his residence in Bath and returned to Albemarle, where he died on his plantation near Edenton. A tablet in the court-house at that place commemorates his eminent services to his country.

The ravages of the Indian War were greatest in Bath County, and it was a serious tax upon the resources of the people to maintain the garrisons. Besides these, a party of twenty men, in two large canoes, were ordered to cruise in Pamplico and Core sounds to suppress the Indians harboring in and about those sounds. The colony consisted of the two counties. Bath was desolated by the Indians, and Albemarle not much better by reason of aiding in supplying provisions to the forces from the Ashley River, under Colonels Barnwell and Moore; being, moreover, hindered in their crops by war. Owing to lack of numbers, the whites could never hope to subdue the Indians alone; and the expedient of fighting fire with fire was adopted. Barnwell's forces consisted of 800 Indians and fifty Englishmen. The South Carolina Indians were induced to come by the hope of booty and capturing other Indians for slaves. De Graffenreid says: "From

the start those tributary savages pounced with such fury upon the Tuscaroras that they were appalled.”*

It has been related that: “At the house of John Porter, Jr., at Chocowinity (near Bath), his wife, Sarah Lillington, seeing an Indian in the act of dashing her infant’s brains out against a tree, rushed upon him and wrested her child from his clutches. Dr. Patrick Maule being present, he and Colonel Porter seized their guns and, covering the flight of the females, successfully beat off the savages until they had reached the landing, when, taking a boat, they pushed out into the broad water and escaped, beholding in the distance their home enveloped in flames.”†

There were, in all likelihood, many instances of bravery and heroic resistance to the savages, but the dust of two centuries has obscured almost all of them; however, the little we do know is sufficient to convince us that the men and women of this section were a brave, strong, honorable race whose memories should command our loving sympathy and careful preservation.

Tom Blount, the last King of the Tuscaroras, of whom frequent mention is made in the accounts of the Indian War, received his name from this circumstance: In one of the earliest raids of the “enemy Indians” upon the whites, some years before the Tuscarora War, there were twin brothers, Jacob and Esau, sons of Thomas Blount of Chowan. Esau was captured by the Indians and put to death in a shocking manner, having his eyes torn out. His brother Jacob swore vengeance for this act; and he took in battle the young son of the then Chief of the Tuscaroras and kept him a hostage for some time. Pity for the youth softened the hearts of his captors, and the boy was treated so kindly that he assumed the name of his benefactor, Thomas Blount, father of Jacob and Esau; and he was ever after the friend and ally of the settlers. Upon the return of the Indian King’s son, Mr. Abraham Sheppard of Pitt County, then a mere boy, who

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 954.

† Sketch of Tuscarora War by Capt. S. A. Ashe.

had been captured by the Tuscarora Indians, was set at liberty. Mr. Sheppard, when quite an old man, gave these particulars to the late John Gray Blount of Washington, who had them written in a book of his family records, now in possession of his descendants.

Fort Reading, on the opposite side of the river from Bath Town, was one of the principal garrisons. It was situated on the plantation of Lionel Reading, a member of the Assembly* that appealed to the Lords Proprietors against Cary, July 25, 1711. This was, also, one of the original trading points for Bath County named in the manuscript laws.† In 1712 President Pollock, in a letter to the Governor of South Carolina, says:‡ “The Indians lately have killed one man at Reading’s fort; and to the number of about 200 of them assaulted it, but were beaten off with the loss of about five of their men, and did little damage, only burned a sloop that lay by the fort. Likewise, some of them have burnt the houses upon four plantations towards the mouth of Pampticoe River, and attacked Captain Jones’ house, but were beat off; none of our people killed.”

A letter of July 25, 1712, says:§ “Most families of Pamlico hourly feel the effects of their (the Indians) cruelty, nor truly can the Governor promise himself one hour’s safety, being continually alarmed by the Tuscarora spies in his own quarters. Colonel Boyd was the other day sent out with a party against the Indians, but was unfortunately shot through the head, and few of his men came home but what shared in his fate and fell sacrifices to the same common misfortune. They skulk so in parties in the woods that common prudence obliges the inhabitants to keep to their plantations, and several of them told me that when they lie down in their beds (they are so often invaded) they can’t say they shall rise in the morning.” Colonel Boyd may have been wounded

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 784.

† Hawks’ Hist. N. C., Vol. II, p. 270.

‡ Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 882.

§ Ibid., 860.

on the occasion mentioned, but he was not killed, as he was for some years after that a member of the Council as Deputy for Lord Craven.

At a meeting of the Council in May, 1712, it was ordered that a commander and thirty men be constantly kept in ye Fort at Cow-Towne, called Hyde Fort, which, with the garrison at Reading's, were to safeguard the inhabitants of Pamlico and Nuse.* It is probable that Core Town was meant, as Core Point, opposite Bath, is noted as having been the site of a fort during the Indian War. The road here was originally an Indian path from Pamlico to Neuse; and when, in 1722, the Assembly authorized the laying out of a public road (the first in the county and a part of the first in the State) from Core Point to New Bern, the lines of the old trail were utilized.

The Indian War ended in 1713; but before the actual close of hostilities, in the fall of 1712, the inhabitants of Bath County suffered another affliction from the scourge of a fever, from which it was said, "men fell like leaves in autumn." Governor Hyde was one of those who died at this time. Thomas Pollock served as President of the Council during this period of difficulty, until the arrival of Charles Eden, May, 1714. Governor Eden settled first in Albemarle, but in 1716 came to live in or near Bath.† Writing from Chowan, May 10, 1716, he says: "I intend in the fall to settle at Pemptisough with my family." He took great interest, for awhile at least, in advancing that section, as evidenced by his letters. He purchased two lots in Bath Town, and owned a plantation adjoining that of Tobias Knight on the west side of Bath Creek, a short distance from the town by water. This is the place known for generations as the Eden plantation. The records of Bath County, in the court-house in Washington, show his ownership of this

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 843.

† Ibid., Vol. II, p. 229, and Vol. II, p. 287.

land. It was here that the house with the underground cellar is said to have stood, and the remains of the old stone pier can still be seen at low tide; near this the old cannon, said to have come from one of Teach's piratical vessels, lies buried in the mud. Eden sold this place to John Lillington, and it has since passed through many transfers, and is now the property of Mr. Roper.*

Tobias Knight's place, originally owned by Governor Robert Daniel, adjoined Eden's, but was lower down, nearer the mouth of Bath Creek, where it flows into the river, though not on the point. On the opposite side of the creek, a few miles farther down the river, tradition says, Edward Teach, the noted pirate, lived for a time. The records fail to show any ownership of land by Teach.

The secluded coves and bays of the coast of Carolina offered many safe places for the smuggler or pirate to secure his booty; and without doubt during Eden's administration, and previous to that, there was much of this traffic carried on in these waters, as well as all along the Atlantic sea-coast. Adventure was a word well liked in those old days, and from buccaneers had come pirates and robbers. So great had the evil become that those in authority sought means to suppress it, and the King promised a pardon to all pirates surrendering in twelve months. Teach took advantage of it and obtained a certificate from Governor Eden. He pretended to settle down; is said to have married his thirteenth wife, and lived for a short period near Bath Town. But the old passion for piracy returned; he sailed on a cruise, on which the skull and cross-bones were veiled, but their despicable significance was evident to those who chose to read the facts. He returned with a large and valuable French ship, loaded with sugar and cocoa; four men swore that she had been found at sea without any person on board. On this evidence, the Court of Admiralty, of which Knight was a Judge, avowed her a lawful prize to her captors. In order to elude investigation, the ship was declared

* Records of the County in court-house, Washington, N. C.

unseaworthy and promptly burned. Unfriendly people said the Governor and the Judge received, each, a portion of the cargo, as a douceur. No proof was found of Eden's complicity, unless the neglect to arrest be so construed. At this late date it is preferable to believe that he was the victim of a political slander. Teach remained on Pamlico River, becoming bolder and more offensive to the law-abiding people, who were terrorized by his depredations. Here he had his carnivals, and it was said that after one of his lootings on the Carribean Sea he "worked the town, firing indiscriminately upon all or any one of its citizens, using such fiery oaths as never man heard before." We shall never know, until the secrets of the Great Deep are revealed, how many innocent men and women with their little ones* were forced to walk the plank while Teach commanded "Queen Anne's Revenge," or the sloop Adventure, or others of his ill-gotten craft. Application was secretly made to the Governor of Virginia, who sent a force, under Capt. Ellis Brand and Lieutenant Maynard of the Royal Navy, to capture Teach. The encounter took place near Ocracoke, and after a desperate and bloody struggle the pirate was beheaded and his body thrown overboard; the spot is known to-day as Teach's Hole.

Lieutenant Maynard sailed up to Bath Town with the pirate's head nailed to his mast; and then "the effects which had been landed by Teach were, by order of the Governor of North Carolina, voluntarily delivered to Captain Brand."† Nine of Teach's men were taken prisoners to Virginia, and at their trial Tobias Knight was formally accused of complicity in the crimes and robberies, an incriminating letter of his having been found among Teach's papers. The Governor and Council of North Carolina "investigated the charges and gravely pronounced him entirely innocent,"‡ though it was said that he lost caste in the colony after that.§

* Mr. Vass, in his History of the Presbyterian Church, states that the mother of Williamson, the historian, was brought from one of Teach's captured ships, when but a small child.

† Colonial Records, Vol. II, p. 334.

‡ Ibid., pref. notes, p. 9.

§ He died not long after.

Colonel Moseley referred to this scandal, when he told Eden that he could find men to arrest him, but could find none to "arrest pirates. For this utterance of *lèse-majesté* Moseley was indicted and "adjudged incapable of bearing any office of trust in this government for three years, and fined one hundred pounds."* Eden had been made a Landgrave the year before, and perhaps this gave rise to Moseley's other complaint that Eden's commands were like those of a German prince.

Governor Eden's residence in Bath County was not of long duration. He was living at Eden House in Albemarle at the time of his death in 1722.

John Lovick succeeded Tobias Knight as Secretary. It appears that he came from England with Governor Hyde, and at a meeting of the Council November 11, 1718, a tract of four thousand acres in Bath County near Core Town, which had been granted to Hyde, was released to Lovick in payment of money due him from the estate of the deceased Governor.†

Colonel Moseley was a lawyer of attainments and ever espoused the cause of the people against the encroachments of the rulers. He owned lots in Bath Town; and, in 1730, he gave two lots with their fronts, which he had bought, in 1722, from John Porter, to the vestry of St. Thomas Parish, on which to build a church; St. Thomas Church was erected there in 1734.‡ Tradition says the bricks and window-panes were brought from England. There is no proof of this, and, as we know that brick were made in the colony at that time, it is thought that only the square tiles of the floor were received from the mother country. The early records of the church have disappeared,§ though it is known that Rev. Alexander Stewart was sent from England, in 1753,

* Colonial Records, Vol. II, p. 368.

† Ibid., p. 216.

‡ County Records in court-house, Washington, N. C. The old deed requires that the sum of sixpence be rendered yearly "to my heirs at law at the feast of the Nativity of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

§ Rev. John Gazia was Rector of St. Thomas' Church prior to Parson Stewart's service. Colonial Records, Vol. IV, p. 796.

by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was a missionary in very truth, serving thirteen chapels, besides his parish church; he, also, labored earnestly among the negroes and Indians. Of the latter, he visited and preached to the remains of the "Attamuskeets," Hatteras, and Roanoke tribes in Hyde County. He paid a school-mistress to teach Indian and negro children to read, and supplied them with books.* He was a strong upholder of the crown, and returned to England with his children about the time of the Revolution. His grandchildren, however, came back to Bath County, where their descendants are numerous.

Matthew Rowan was a resident of Bath Town, of whom special mention should be made. He was a church warden in 1726, member of the Assembly in 1727, took a seat at the Council Board in 1730, of which he was a continual member, thereafter, until his death; as President of the Council his administration was so sagacious as to win the approval of the authorities in England and the people at home, a rare occurrence indeed. "He was a merchant of Bath, dealing in Irish goods, for which he made trips to the old country; on one of these voyages carrying above one hundred pounds of silver money that had been taken in at Bath. He was Surveyor-General of the Province for a time and one of the commissioners to run the boundary between North and South Carolina."†

The next proprietary Governors after Eden were Sir Richard Everard and George Burrington; the latter, in 1732, advised the Proprietors to build a fort on Ocracoke Island and make that the principal port of entry, "settling a custom-house on this place to serve the three districts of Roanoke, Currituck, and Port Bath Town. This would procure a trade from England and put an end to the peddling carried on by the people of New England and Virginia to this place."‡ During his tenure orders were given for buoying

* "Church History in N. C.," compiled by Bishop Cheshire and published by Mr. DeRosset.

† Colonial Records, Vol. III, p. 622, and Vol. V, pref. notes, p. 4.

‡ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 336.

and beaconing Ocracoke inlet and channel. The proprietary government ended in North Carolina in 1728, George II. purchasing seven of the original shares. In 1744, Lord Granville's share, the remaining one-eighth of Carolina, was set off to him: a portion of the line was run from the coast to the town of Bath, and in the spring of 1746 it was run from Bath to Peter Parker's house near Saxapahaw River.*

Governor Gabriel Johnston arrived in the colony in the fall of 1734; and during his rule Bath Town was in a prosperous condition. Acts were passed by the Assembly for facilitating the navigation and trade of the Port of Bath; other bills about this time were to exempt the inhabitants of the town from working on the public roads, to fence the town and resurvey the commons, as also to improve the front or water lots; a bill to improve the Bath Town ferry and to prevent any within ten miles thereof, was passed. The Governor's Council met at Bath, and there was one, or more, sessions of the Assembly held there.

The colony had spread out to the south and was increasing in riches and population; the great highway of travel led from Edenton in a northerly direction to a point near Suffolk, Virginia; and southward, the route was across the sound to Mackey's Point, thence to Bath; from there by ferry to Core Point opposite, then on to New Bern, thence to Wilmington, a distance of nearly two hundred miles from Edenton.† From the difficulties of travel, arose the contention of members from the extremes of the colony as to the place of holding the courts and Assemblies. Could Bath have retained its place as the seat of government, its future would have been assured; but events ruled otherwise. Governor Johnston gave his influence towards the new town of Wilmington, and the Assemblies were, thenceforth, held there and at New Bern.

At one time Bath maintained a flourishing trade with the West Indies and other foreign ports. Jonathan Marsh was

* Colonial Records, Vol. IV, p. 10, pref. notes.

† Ibid., Vol. III, pref. notes, p. 18.

a wealthy ship-owner who lived there about the Revolutionary period. The quaint old Marsh house remains, to-day, a relic of the past, and is still in the possession of his descendants. This house was built in 1744, by Monsieur Cautanch, a Frenchman and member of the Assembly from Bath.

John Baptista Ashe, distinguished in the early annals, owned property and lived in Bath in 1729.

Others prominent in Bath were Robert Palmer, Surveyor-General, who died in 1765. A stone tablet in the old St. Thomas Church preserves his memory and that of his wife, Mrs. Margaret Palmer.

Thomas Bonner was Sheriff of the county at one time, and court was held at his house on occasions prior to the building of the court-house, in 1766.

A few miles outside of Bath was the "Hermitage," the home of P-salmet Roulhac, who, it is said, was a candidate for the Assembly to succeed Mr. Cabarrus, another Frenchman, who had "set up for Congress." It was related further, that they were both defeated, for no "other crime than being foreigners."* Roulhac had married the daughter of Patrick Maule of Maule's Point, a place of note on the south side of Pamlico River. The Archbell family owned a large plantation in this vicinity, which remained undivided for over a hundred years.

Among the Revolutionary officers connected with this section were Col. John Patton, Maj. Reading Blount, and Simon Alderson, a dashing cavalryman. Col. James Bonner, on whose plantation stands the present town of Washington, was in command of the Beaufort County Regiment. Space forbids the mention of many other well-known names associated with the county's development.

Bath County was divided into four precincts, which in time have become the counties of Beaufort, Hyde, Craven, and Carteret. Beaufort was formed in 1741 and retained as its county-seat the historic old Bath; but, in November,

* Hist. Roulhac Family by H. B. Prescott. Stephen Cabarrus, here referred to, was the talented Speaker of the House of Commons, for whom Cabarrus County was named.

1785, by an act of Assembly, this last official honor was transferred to Washington. The commissioners petitioning the change were John Gray Blount, Nathan Keais, and Richard Blackledge. The old town, shorn of its active glory and importance, has maintained a sleepy existence for more than a century, while men and events have shifted to more central and richer localities and prosperity with brilliant wings outspread has flown away from this picturesque old haven.

THE GENESIS OF WAKE COUNTY.*

MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD.

When the editors of *The Booklet* requested me to prepare a sketch bearing in some way upon the history of Wake County, no particular period or epoch was assigned me. Thus having a space of more than one hundred and thirty years from which to choose my subject, I have decided that nothing more profitable can be selected than to start with "*In the beginning*"—and so I term this brief dissertation THE GENESIS OF WAKE COUNTY. I shall endeavor to tell something of the county's origin, of its colonial history, and of the part its people bore in the War of the Revolution, closing with the year 1783, when Great Britain acknowledged North Carolina (with her sister colonies) to be a "free, sovereign, and independent State." My narrative will close about ten years before the foundation of the city of Raleigh, which is the State capital of North Carolina and what our English ancestors would call the "shire-town" of Wake County.

Probably the first white man who ever set foot in the area which is now embraced in Wake County was John Lawson, the explorer and historian, who made his journey in 1700 and crossed Neuse River at the northern end of the present county of Wake, about five miles from where the village and college of Wake Forest now stand. Speaking of the falls of the river (which he called a creek), Lawson says: "We went about 10 Miles, and sat down at the Falls of a large Creek, where lay mighty Rocks, the Water making a strange Noise, as if a great many Water-Mills were going at once. I take this to be the Falls of *Neuse-Creek*, called by the *Indians*, *Wee quo Whom*." Another early reference to the land now lying in Wake County is found on a large map made by "Capt. John Collet, Governor of Fort Johnston," dedicated to King George the Third, and published by an act which

*From the North Carolina Booklet.

passed the British Parliament on May 1, 1770. This map gives Neuse River (spelling it Nuse), and also shows many of that river's tributaries which flow through Wake County, and are still known by the same names. Among these are the two streams on the north and south of the present city of Raleigh, viz., Crabtree Creek, and Walnut Creek (which Collet calls "Walnut Tree Creek"); also, Middle Creek further down, which is now partly in Johnston County. Then, on the eastern side of Neuse River, going up-stream, we find New Light Creek, Beaver Dam Creek, and the Ledge of Rocks. One error in Collet's map is representing Richland Creek as forming part of the headwaters of Crabtree, when, in fact, it is on the northern side of Neuse River, flowing into the river a few miles below the Falls, while Crabtree Creek is on the southern side of the river.

The county of Wake was brought into existence when England's reigning monarch was George the Third and when William Tryon was Royal Governor of the Colony of North Carolina. It is named in honor of Governor Tryon's wife, whose maiden name was Margaret Wake. With the exception of Dare County, it is the only county in the State named for a woman. Though it was not fully organized till 1771, its origin was about the end of the year 1770, when a bill was introduced into the Lower House of the Legislature of the Colony at New Bern, on December 23d, providing for the creation of Wake County; and the Upper House, or Governor's Council, passed the bill on the 27th of the same month, thus making it a law—Chapter XXII of the Public Laws of 1770. This act, a somewhat lengthy document of sixteen sections, sets forth as a reason for the creation of the new county that "the large extent of the said counties of Johnston, Cumberland, and Orange, renders it grievous and burthensome to many of the inhabitants thereof to attend the Courts, General Musters, and Public Meetings therein." The territory at first included in Wake County was taken from the three counties named in the above quoted extract. By the act referred to,

Joel Lane, Theophilus Hunter, Hardy Sanders, Joseph Lane, John Hinton, Thomas Hines, and Thomas Crawford were appointed commissioners to lay off land on which to erect a court-house, jail, stocks, etc., and Joel Lane, James Martin, and Theophilus Hunter were authorized to contract with workmen for the erection of the said buildings and stocks. Joel Lane, John Smith, Theophilus Hunter, Farquard Campbell, and Walter Gibson were then directed to run the boundary as specified in the act creating the county. This law will be found in the Revisal published by James Davis at New Bern in 1773. According to its own provisions, said act was not to take effect till March 12, 1771.

During the year in which Wake County was taking shape as a territory separate and distinct from its mother counties of Johnston, Orange, and Cumberland, North Carolina was in the throes of a small civil war—what is known in history as the Insurrection of the Regulators. The chief seat of trouble was in Orange County; and in Wake (a part of what had been Orange) there was also some disaffection to the government, but no acts of violence and incendiarism by the Regulators occurred here, as was the case in Orange, Granville, and other counties. As early as 1768 Governor Tryon had gone with some colonial militia against the Regulators; but, on that expedition, there was no bloodshed, as the Regulators agreed to cease their lawlessness. In this expedition of 1768 one of the officers in the Governor's army was Maj. John Hinton, who appeared at the head of a detachment from Johnston County. By the Act of 1770, creating Wake, Major Hinton's plantation was included in the new county. Thereupon Governor Tryon promoted him to the rank of Colonel and called for his services in a second expedition against the Regulators in the early spring of 1771. The chief place of rendezvous for the colonial militia which served under Tryon was Wake Cross-roads, about where Raleigh now stands. The Governor's own headquarters were at a country-seat called Hunter's Lodge, owned by

the elder Theophilus Hunter, on the present Fayetteville Road, two or three miles south of Raleigh. This place is now owned by Ransom Hinton, Esq., a descendant both of Col. John Hinton and Theophilus Hunter. Hunter's Lodge is not the same as Spring Hill, a neighboring plantation later owned by Theophilus Hunter, junior. Near Wake Cross-roads Governor Tryon tarried with his troops from May 2d till May 8th, and then set out towards the scene of the disturbances. About a week later, on May 16, 1771, was fought the Battle of Alamance, where the insurgents were defeated and scattered by the Governor's little army of North Carolina militia—a force about half their own number. In this expedition the Wake County troops under Colonel Hinton acquitted themselves with honor, and received high commendation for the part they bore in the battle.

At the beginning of Tryon's march from Wake Cross-roads it was found necessary for his corps of engineers to cut a new road, as the old one—the "Granville Tobacco Path"—was too rough for artillery to pass over. The new thoroughfare was called Ramsgate Road. By the mellowing process of time, Ramsgate assumed a more sentimental form and became *Ramcat*, also giving its name to a section of our county where the more cultured classes write it Rhamkatte. The latter locality, as every one knows, is a great trade center, which supplies Raleigh with lightwood, 'possums, and blackberries, and even begins to threaten the commercial supremacy of our sister county of Chatham in its chief source of support, the rabbit industry.

But my tribute to Rhamkatte has caused me to digress from the course of this narrative, which has to do with the history in general of Wake County. The charter of the new county was signed by Governor Tryon, in the name of the King, on May 22, 1771, while he was on the Alamance expedition, and this important document was entrusted to the personal care of Col. John Hinton, who presented it in open court after his return home.

In the early days of Wake County the chief legal tribunal of a county in North Carolina was called the "Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions." It was composed of all (or a quorum) of the Justices of the Peace meeting in joint session four times yearly. There were also judicial districts in the colony. These districts were composed of several counties, over all of which the "Superior Court" had higher jurisdiction than the above county courts. The Superior Courts were the highest tribunals in the colony, and their sessions were presided over by the Chief Justice of North Carolina and two "Assistant Judges." Wake County was in what was known as the Hillsborough District, and all of its business with the Superior Court had to be transacted at the town of Hillsborough. The lawyers of that day often came down from Hillsborough, and from other localities, even Virginia, to appear in the Wake Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. On its docket between 1771 and 1783 we find the names of a number of practising attorneys, among whom were Bromfield Ridley, John Kinchen, John Rand, James Forsyth, Joseph Taylor, David Gordon, D'Arey Fowler, James Williams, John Bonton, John Penn, Henry Gifford, Henry Lightfoot, James Spiller, and Alexander Gray. Some of these gentlemen regularly resided in Wake County. Penn lived in Granville and was afterwards a signer of the National Declaration of Independence.

The first Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for the county of Wake met on June 4, 1771. There were present Theophilus Hunter, Presiding Justice, and the following Justices: Joel Lane, Joseph Lane, Benjamin Hardy, James Martin, Hardy Sanders, Abraham Hill, Thomas Wootten, James Jones, Thomas Crawford, and Tingnall Jones. Among other officers present were Michael Rogers, High Sheriff; John Rogers and James Alford, Deputy Sheriffs; John Rice, Clerk of the Court and Deputy Clerk for the Crown in the County of Wake; and Bromfield Ridley, King's Deputy Attorney. It is recorded that when another session

of this Court met it was at "Bloomsberry, in the County of Wake." Bloomsberry, more properly Bloomsbury, was the name of a hamlet erected at Wake Cross-roads, the present site of the city of Raleigh. The hamlet of Bloomsbury was also known as Wake Court-House.

In days prior to the Revolution, and for some time after that war, it was the law that any person convicted of perjury should have both his ears cropped off by the common hangman and nailed to the pillory. One ear was so cropped for subornation of perjury. Hence, any person who was "crop-eared" was always regarded with distrust. But occasionally a citizen was deprived of his ear without due process of law, in consequence of the cannibalistic propensity of some adversary with whom he was engaged in a rough and tumble fight—or "battle," as the old records would say. When such a misfortune befell a man, he generally went into court and had an entry made of the fact that his ear had been bitten off, and not cropped for perjury or subornation thereof. There are several entries of this class on the old records of Wake County. At September Term, 1771, we find the following: "Averington McKelroy came into court, and by the oath of Mr. Isaac Hunter proved that he unluckily lost a piece from the top of his right ear by Jacob Oden's biting it off in a battle." Nor was Mr. McElroy the only belligerent who was wounded in battle by a sharp-toothed antagonist; for, by a formal entry made at September Term, 1772, of the above court, we are also informed: "James Murr came into court and produced John Patterson, a witness to prove how and in what manner he lost his ear, who made oath that after a battle between said Murr and one Wagstaff Cannady, he (the said Patterson) found a piece of his (Murr's) ear on the ground: to wit, the right ear." Those "good old-fashioned customs" will never come again—and for this may the Lord make us thankful!

There is a homely old proverb, perhaps familiar to some of my readers, which says: "Never trust a nigger with a gun."

Our forefathers in the Colonial Assembly, it would seem, went even further, and were not even willing to trust a nigger with a club. In examining the proceedings of the court of Wake County, at September Term, 1774, we find the following order: "Whereas, it hath lately been a practice of sundry slaves in this county, especially upon Crab Tree and Walnut Creeks, to carry clubs loaded on the ends with lead or pewter, contrary to the Act of Assembly, to the annoyance of the inhabitants, which may be attended with dangerous and evil consequences, the Court therefore appoints the chairman to cause to be put up advertisements at the court-house and other public places in this county, requiring the masters, mistresses, or overseers of slaves to prohibit their slaves from carrying such unlawful weapons, certifying to them at the same time that, if they therein fail, the magistrates will strictly put in execution the law against such an evil and dangerous practice."

On October 6, 1772, Col. John Hinton made a list of the officers of his regiment of Wake County troops, and this roster is here given; for so many of the officers therein now have descendants living in Wake County and elsewhere that it will doubtless be of interest. The following is a copy in full:

Colonel—John Hinton.

Lieutenant-Colonel—Joel Lane.

Major—Theophilus Hunter.

Captains—Simon Turner, John Hinton, junior, James Moore, Samuel Pearson, Nathaniel Jones, Edward Mobley, Jeremiah Mobley, Michael Rogers, Sandy Sanders, William Simms, and William Anderson Fowler.

Lieutenants—John Myatt, Swann Thompson, Edward Mobley, junior, John Beddingfield, Tingnall Jones, Dempsey Powell, Jacob Utley, Isham Hendor, and Mosier Jones.

Ensigns—Andrew Collins, Reuben Rogers, Jacob Bledsoe, Joshua Sugg, Thomas Phillips, Aaron Rogers, Etheldred Jones, Joel Simms, and Godfrey Fowler.

The gentlemen who held the office of High Sheriff of the county of Wake from the foundation of the county to the close of the Revolution, were the following: Michael Rogers, from the foundation of the county till June, 1773; Thomas Hines, from June, 1773, till June, 1777; Thomas Wootten, from June, 1777, till September, 1780; Hardy Sanders, from September, 1780, till September, 1782; and Britain Sanders, from September, 1782, till after American independence was acknowledged. During the days of our colonial existence the office of High Sheriff was one not only of importance, but of the greatest honor as well, as has always been the case in Great Britain, where even now some of the principal peers hold the title as an hereditary honor—the Duke of Montrose being hereditary High Sheriff of Dumbartonshire, the Duke of Argyll hereditary High Sheriff of Argyllshire, with other noblemen of like rank who might be mentioned.

At the beginning of the War of the Revolution, field-officers for the troops of Wake County were appointed by the Provincial Congress of North Carolina at Hillsborough on the 9th of September, 1775, as follows: John Hinton, Colonel; Theophilus Hunter, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Hinton, junior, First Major; and Thomas Hines, Second Major. These officers were re-elected to the same ranks by the Provincial Congress of North Carolina at Halifax on the 22d of April, 1776. At a later period Thomas Wootten was also Colonel; and Michael Rogers, Lieutenant-Colonel, the latter being appointed in February, 1778. There may have been some other changes also.

About the beginning of January, 1776, there was a great uprising of the Tories of North Carolina, chiefly among the Highland Scotch of the Cape Fear section, with some of the old Regulators from further west; and Wake County was called upon to do her part in suppressing the outbreak. Colonel Hinton then marched eastward with a detachment of his regiment, which became a part of Col. Richard Caswell's

command, numbering about eight hundred. These later united with the lesser command of Col. Alexander Lillington, after which the joint forces (about a thousand men) gave battle to a vastly superior force of Loyalists at Moore's Creek Bridge on the 27th of February, 1776. The scene of this fight was then in New Hanover County, but is now a part of the county of Pender. The result was one of the most crushing defeats which ever befell the King's troops in America. Colonel Caswell (later General and Governor), who commanded in this battle, afterwards spoke in high terms of the bravery there displayed by Colonel Hinton.

A good deal of recruiting was done in Wake County while the war was in progress. In the summer of 1781 one of the French volunteer officers, Francis Marquis of Malmedy, mustered into his regiment a company of Wake Light Horse. Of this company Solomon Wood was Captain, Mark Myatt was Lieutenant, and Thomas Gray was Cornet. In connection with the last-named rank (now no longer in use) it may be mentioned that a Cornet was a commissioned officer in a cavalry company whose duty it was to carry the colors of his troop.

While the above Whigs were striving for independence, the Tories were by no means inactive, though few could stay in Wake County. When a man refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new State government he was ordered to move out of North Carolina. Alexander Munn and Sampson Strickland were driven out for so refusing, and there may have been others. Munn's property, with that of other Loyalists, was later confiscated by Chapter VI of the Laws of 1781. He went to Nova Scotia in 1783.

There were some men who attempted to shirk the military duty which the law required of them during the Revolution. Of this class was one Timothy Duck, who failed to appear when summoned for military duty in April, 1781. At that time Col. Thomas Wootten commanded the militia forces of Wake County. In accordance with a power which was given

him by law, Colonel Wootten ordered the Sheriff to seize and sell Duck's plantation. With the proceeds of this sale John Abernethie was hired as a substitute, and the unfortunate Duck had to hunt for another nest.

The most active and daring partisan in North Carolina on the Tory side during the Revolution was Col. David Fanning, a native of what afterwards became the county of Wake, though that part of Wake was in Johnston at the time of his birth. The deeds of blood committed by him in his native State fill a volume which he prepared, entitled *Fanning's Narrative*. After the war, when North Carolina passed an "Act of Pardon and Oblivion," giving a general amnesty to her late enemies, he was excepted by name from its provisions, and died an exile in Canada.

Wake County had a good share in establishing the independent government of North Carolina. To the Provincial Congress at New Bern in April, 1775, John Hinton, Michael Rogers, and Tingnall Jones were sent as its delegates. In another Provincial Congress, held at Hillsborough in August of the same year, the county's representatives were John Hinton, Joel Lane, Theophilus Hunter, Michael Rogers, Tingnall Jones, John Rand, and Thomas Hines. On September 9th, while the last-named Congress was in session, it appointed Committees of Safety for the several districts into which the State was divided, and Joel Lane, Michael Rogers, and John Hinton, of Wake, were made members for the Hillsborough District, of which their county was a part. In the Provincial Congress at Halifax in April, 1776, the representatives from Wake were Tingnall Jones, John Rand, John Hinton, Joel Lane, and William Hooper. The last-named gentleman, Mr. Hooper, who is recorded as a delegate from Wake, was not a citizen of the county. Later he added to his already established fame by signing the National Declaration of Independence. Another Provincial Congress met at Halifax in November, 1776, and from Wake County to that body went Britain Fuller, James Jones, Tingnall Jones, John Rice, and Michael Rogers. On April 19, 1776, during the

session of the first Provincial Congress at Halifax, Theophilus Hunter and Thomas Hines, of Wake, were made members of a committee to procure, by purchase or otherwise, fire-arms for use by the American troops.

In the State Senate of North Carolina during the Revolution, Wake County was represented by James Jones in 1777, by Michael Rogers from 1778 till 1781, and by Joel Lane from 1782 till after the end of the war. In the House of Commons of North Carolina during the war appeared the following Wake County members: John Rand and Tingnall Jones in 1777; Lodwick Alford and Hardy Sanders in 1778; Thomas Hines and John Hinton, junior, in 1779; Nathaniel Jones and John Humphries in 1780; Burwell Pope and James Hinton in 1781 and 1782; and Theophilus Hunter and Hardy Sanders in 1783.

While the above delegates from Wake in the Provincial Congresses and General Assemblies were looking after the State's general welfare, the interests of the county were faithfully guarded at home by the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. Among the Justices who sat at different times in this tribunal during the Revolution were the following: John Abernethie, Lodwick Alford, Kedar Bryan, Richard Banks, Thomas Crawford, Joseph Davis, Abraham Hill, Thomas Hines, John Hinton, John Hinton, junior, James Hinton, Francis Hobson, Theophilus Hunter, Albridgeton Jones, James Jones, Nathaniel Jones of White Plains,* Tingnall Jones, Joel Lane, Joseph Lane, James Martin, James Moore, Burwell Pope, Michael Rogers, Hardy Sanders, Joshua Sugg, William Walton, John Whitaker, and Thomas Wooten. Beginning with the early part of 1777, the Court composed of these Justices cited various citizens of the county to take the oath of allegiance to the new State government as required by a recent enactment. When a person refused to

*Nathaniel Jones of White Plains lived near the present village of Cary. He died in 1815. His connection by marriage (though probably not of the same paternal line), Nathaniel Jones, Sr., of Crabtree, who died in 1810, was a brother of Robert Jones, Jr. ("Robin" Jones), Attorney-General under Governors Dobbs and Tryon. See Jones Genealogy by Colonel Cadwallader Jones. Nathaniel Jones, Jr., of Crabtree, died in 1828, and was father of the late Kimbrough Jones, Sr.

take such oath he was forthwith ordered to leave the county and State.

In 1781 one of the sessions of the General Assembly of North Carolina (there were two or more sessions that year) met at Bloomsbury, the county-seat of Wake. Col. Joel Lane's residence (which is still standing in the city of Raleigh) was its place of meeting. At that time the State and Continental paper money had become so utterly worthless that the sum of *fifteen thousand pounds* was paid by the Assembly to Colonel Lane for the rent of this house for two weeks, with pasturage included. During this session several detachments of troops were ordered to Bloomsbury for the Assembly's protection.

The present city of Raleigh, as is well known, stands on land purchased by North Carolina from Col. Joel Lane for the purpose of erecting thereon the capital of the State. Lane's deed to the State is dated April 5, 1792, and the streets of the new town were laid out shortly thereafter.

In 1835 and again in 1841 the United States Government published lists of soldiers of the Revolution who were pensioned for services in that war. At the risk of being tedious, I give the Wake County lists in full. Persons desiring a statement of the war record of any veteran herein named can obtain the same free of charge by addressing a request therefor to the Commissioner of Pensions, at Washington City. Except when otherwise designated, persons mentioned were privates in the service of North Carolina. Some of the names are spelled differently on the two lists, and these variations I have indicated below. The list published in 1835 was as follows: Berthett Allen, James Adams, Philip Adams, James Ames, John Amos, Christopher Babb, James Brown, Jesse Bryant (Virginia), William Burton (or William H. Burton), Jacob Byrum, Benjamin Carpenter, James Christian 2nd, William Clifton, George Cole, Robert Dodd, Reuben Evans, John Green, Jesse Harris (or Horris), James Hughes (Virginia), Thomas Jinks (Corporal), Francis

Jones, Vincent King, Joshua Lynch, David Mabry, Jesse Manuel, John Marr, Shadrach Medlin, Naaman Mills, James Nance, senior (Virginia), Jesse Osborn, Drury Pittiford (Virginia), William Polk (Major), Elisha Pope (Virginia), Frederick Rigsby (or Rigsbee), James Rigsby (or Rigsbee), Thomas Ross, John Rhodes, Aaron Roberts, Robert Sneed (Virginia), Joseph Shaw (Pennsylvania), Isaac Smith, Samuel Standeford (Virginia), Samuel Scarborough, senior (Virginia), Jonathan Smith, senior (Captain), John Sheron, John Swenney, William Tate, Nathan Upchurch, William Wilder, Burrell (or Burwell) Whitehead, John Walker, John Williams, and Jesse Wall. In addition to the above, the list of 1841 gives the following names, without indicating rank, or State in which they served: James Harward, Thomas Holland, Richard Pipen, William Sledd, Rufus Willie, and William Wood. Some of these veterans were dead before lists were published. Joel Terrell, whose name also appears on the pension roll of 1835, appears to have rendered his military service in the United States Army after the Revolution—possibly in the War of 1812.

When the county of Wake was first created, and up to the time of the Revolution, the Church of England was established by law, and each county contained one or more parishes. The one in Wake was called the Parish of St. Margaret, this probably being done to canonize, as it were, the same lady in whose honor the county was called—Mrs. Tryon, formerly Miss Margaret Wake, a zealous churchwoman and generous contributor to religious work in the colony. I have also seen it stated that the present townships of St. Mary's and St. Matthew's in Wake County take their names from either chapels or parishes of the old Established Church in the colony.

By what I have already set forth herein, my story has been brought to a close. It was not at first intended to impose upon the patience of my readers further than to bring the history of Wake County down to a time when North

Carolina's independence of Great Britain was acknowledged. But I can not resist the temptation of adding a few more words about the men and customs of that day.

The old colonists were a sturdy and substantial race of men, not the mimic courtiers so finely pictured in the historical novels dealing with that time. They had their virtues and they had their vices, as men always have had and always will have. They were not devoid of ability as legislators, and possessed a practical knowledge of the needs of the colony. Personally they were bold, fearless, and independent, prompt to answer a call for their services in the field, and at times too forward in a personal quarrel. At the period of which I write there were places in North Carolina, particularly in the extreme east, where could be found commodious houses, churches, schools, and private libraries, together with what were then considered the luxuries of life. But when some of the bolder spirits of that time pushed westward and set up new homes in what is now the center of the State, they had more serious problems to confront than those to which they had been accustomed. The early pioneers of Wake County knew more about blazing paths through the primeval forests by which they were surrounded than they knew about winding through the intricate mazes of a minuet. Great houses, servants, and fine apparel form no part of the equipment of a backwoodsman. Even so we find it in the Gospel of St. Luke that when the multitude sought St. John the Baptist, it was asked of them: "What went ye out into the wilderness for to see? * * * A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in kings' courts." So might an old colonist in Wake County describe the locality where his lot was cast, not as a place of soft raiment and delicate living, but a land—

"Where thoughts, and tongues, and hands, are bold and free,
And friends will find a welcome, foes a grave;
And where none kneel, save when to heaven they pray—
Nor even then, unless in their own way."

THE BATTLE OF MOORE'S CREEK BRIDGE.*

M. C. S. NOBLE.

Eighteen miles northwest of Wilmington, North Carolina, on a low, sandy bluff overlooking a deep, wide creek whose sluggish waters flow into the Black River, a tributary of the Cape Fear, there stands to-day a simple brownstone monument with this inscription on its western face:

IN COMMEMORATION
OF THE BATTLE OF
MOORE'S CREEK BRIDGE,
FOUGHT HERE
27TH FEBRUARY, 1776.
THE FIRST VICTORY GAINED
BY THE AMERICAN ARMS
IN THE WAR OF THE
REVOLUTION.

The right to this direct claim to precedence in Revolutionary success and martial glory is one of North Carolina's greatest historic possessions. The events leading up to and culminating in this battle are full of interest and reflect clearly the patriotic character of North Carolinians.

The Coercive Acts of 1774 were passed in order to punish the people of Massachusetts, and although they dealt only with that colony, it was clear that any other colony might, at any time and without warning, receive similar treatment at the hands of a British Parliament.

The news of the closing of the port of Boston made a profound impression in all of the colonies. North Carolina, in great alarm for the safety of the constitutional rights of the colonies, and in deepest sympathy for the suffering people of Boston, began to act speedily and heartily. Throughout the

* From the North Carolina Booklet.

province there rang the cry, "The cause of Boston is the cause of all."

At a meeting of the people of the Wilmington district, in July, 1774, the various counties in the province were urged to send delegates to a Provincial Congress to be held at Johnston Court-House the following August for the purpose of appointing delegates to represent North Carolina in a Continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia. Among the resolutions adopted at this meeting was the following:

"Resolved, That we consider the cause of the Town of Boston as the common cause of British America and as suffering in defense of the Rights of the Colonies in general; and that therefore we have in proportion to our abilities sent a supply of Provisions * * * as an earnest of our sincere Intentions to contribute by every means in our power to alleviate their distress and to induce them to maintain, with Prudence and firmness, the glorious cause in which they at present suffer."

In rapid succession, in fact almost instantaneously, counties in every section of the province chose delegates to the proposed Provincial Congress, adopted resolutions bold, clear-cut, and denunciatory of the Coercive Acts, and expressed the greatest sympathy for the people of Boston. From Anson and Rowan in the west to New Hanover and Chowan in the east the men of the province spoke forth to the world through their "Resolutions" the characteristic North Carolina spirit of sympathy for the oppressed and devotion to justice and liberty. Their sympathy did not stop with mere words. Contributions of money and provisions were made almost immediately—as much as \$10,000 worth being sent from the port of Wilmington alone—and we shall presently see that, in their devotion to right and freedom, near ten thousand men sprang to arms when the time for action came, in the early months of 1776.* The temper of the people is shown in the following extracts taken from resolutions adopted at a meeting of the citizens of Rowan, August 8, 1774:

* Am. Archives, 4th Series, Vol. V, p. 60.

"Resolved, That the Cause of the Town of Boston is the common Cause of the American Colonies.

"Resolved, That it is the Duty and Interest of all the American Colonies firmly to unite in an indissoluble Union and Association to oppose by every Just and proper means the Infringement of their common Rights and Privileges."

Resolutions similar to the above were adopted throughout the province in town and county meetings. The seriousness of those who adopted them could not be doubted. They endeavored to force the mother country to a just consideration of their complaints in a most practical manner. They declared that no friend to the rights and liberties of America ought to purchase commodities imported from Great Britain; that every kind of luxury, dissipation, and extravagance ought to be abolished; that slaves ought not to be imported, and that manufacturing in this country ought to be promoted and encouraged, for "to be clothed in manufactures fabricated in the Colonies ought to be considered as a Badge and Distinction of Respect and true Patriotism."* From meetings breathing such a resolute spirit of patriotism as this, delegates were sent to the first Provincial Congress, held at New Bern instead of at Johnston Court-House. Governor



Josiah Martin forbade the assembling of the Congress.

It assembled, however, on the appointed day, August 25, 1774; elected William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell as delegates to the Continental Congress, and unanimously adopted resolutions which were as bold, direct, and patriotic as any previously adopted in the towns and counties of the province, and from which the following are extracts:

"Resolved, That the inhabitants of the Massachusetts province have distinguished themselves in a manly support of the rights of

* Colonial Records, Vol. IX, 1025, 1026.

America in general and that the cause in which they suffer is the Cause of every honest American who deserves the Blessings which the Constitution holds forth. * * *

"Resolved, That we will not directly or indirectly after the first day of January, 1775, import from Great Britain any East India Goods, or any merchandise whatever, medicines excepted. * * *

"Resolved, That unless American Grievances are redressed before the first day of October, 1775, We will not after that day directly or indirectly export Tobacco, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, or any other articles whatsoever, to Great Britain. * * * "

The Congress then adjourned and its members went to their homes determined to faithfully carry out the spirit of their "Resolutions."

The first Continental Congress met at Philadelphia during the following September and adopted the famous "Association" committing the colonies to the non-importation of British commodities, tea, and slaves. The eighth article of the "Association" read as follows:

"We will in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry * * * and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibition of shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments."

The "Association" was in harmony with the resolutions already adopted in the province and the Committees of Safety enforced it unsparingly. The Wilmington Committee having heard (March 1, 1775) that a "Public Ball" was to be given at the house of a lady in that town, sent her the following note:*

"MADAM :

"The committee appointed to see the resolves of the Continental Congress put in execution, in this town, acquaint you that the Ball intended to be given at your house, this evening, is contrary to the said resolves: we therefore warn you to decline it, and acquaint the parties concerned, that your house can not be at their service, consistent with the good of your country.

"By order of the Committee,

"Signed,

THOS. CRAIKE."

* Colonial Records, Vol. IX, 1136.

The warning was heeded, and yet we are sure that foregoing the pleasure of the dance was no great hardship. The young people of North Carolina have ever been ready and willing to sacrifice on the altar of freedom not only pleasure but property, and even life itself whenever the public good required it.

On April 2, 1775, Governor Martin heard that another Provincial Congress was soon to meet in New Bern and appoint delegates to a second Continental Congress to be held in Philadelphia. With the approval of his Council he issued a proclamation forbidding the assembling of the Congress and declaring that "the meeting of such Convention and the declared purpose thereof will be highly offensive to the King and dishonourable to the General Assembly of this Province, which is appointed to sit at this time for the dispatch of public business."* But no attention was paid to his proclamation.

On April 3d the Congress met, organized, and adjourned till the next day, when the General Assembly was to meet. The next morning the Congress met, received four new members and adjourned till the following day. A few minutes after this second adjournment of the Provincial Congress the General Assembly met, and of the forty-eight members present, forty-seven were members of the Congress. The Provincial Congress thus continued to meet daily one hour before the General Assembly met. It thanked Hooper, Hewes, and Caswell for their services in the First Continental Congress, adopted resolutions approving the

"Association," and then having finished its work, adjourned on April 7th, two days *after* Martin had issued a proclamation commanding the members "on their allegi-



ance and on pain of incurring his Majesty's highest dis-

* Colonial Records, Vol. IX, 1177.

pleasure to break up the said meeting and to desist from all such illegal, unwarrantable, and dangerous proceedings.”*

In his address to the General Assembly (April 4th), Governor Martin reviewed the condition of affairs in the province and plead with the members to be faithful to the royal cause, saying, among other things:

“Be it to your glory, Gentlemen, to record to latest posterity that at a time when the monster Sedition dared to raise his impious head in America, the people of North Carolina, inspired with a just sense of their duty to their King and Country, and animated by the example of its Legislature, stood among the foremost of his Majesty’s subjects, to resist his baneful snares, and to repel the fell invader of their happiness.”

But the angry Governor was merely shrieking in the teeth of a rapidly rising gale of revolution, which was soon to gather force and sweep him and every other vestige of royal power from off our shores forever. The North Carolina spirit was thoroughly aroused and his high-sounding appeal met with a defiant answer. In their reply (April 7th) the Assembly boldly asserted their right of petition for a redress of grievances, and in utter disregard of his wishes they said:

“We take this opportunity, Sir, the first that has been given us, to express the warm attachment we have to our sister Colonies in general, and the heartfelt compassion we entertain for the deplorable state of the Town of Boston in particular, and also to declare the fixed and determined resolution of this Colony to unite with the other Colonies in every effort to retain those just rights and liberties which as subjects to a British King we possess and which it is our absolute and indispensable duty to hand down to posterity unimpaired.”

These ringing words came from the very men at whom, as members of the Provincial Congress, he had hurled his proclamation in vain two days before, and now as members of the General Assembly, they were still bold, determined, and defiant. No wonder, then, that the Governor dissolved the Assembly on the following day.

This constantly growing spirit of resistance to the alleged unconstitutional acts of Parliament impressed Martin with

* Colonial Records, Vol. IX, 1187.

the seriousness of the situation, and he began to act accordingly.

After the battle of Alamance many of the Regulators had been placed under bond to appear at court from time to time, and they were thus kept under fearful apprehensions of the day of trial. Martin had endeavored to win their good-will by urging the home government to grant them a pardon. Others of the Regulators had taken the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. To the Regulators, therefore, the Governor might turn with reason for help in time of need, and so he sent his agents among them to secure their faithful service.

In the valley of the Cape Fear there were hundreds of Scotch Highlanders. Many of them had come to North Carolina since the battle of Culloden (1746) where, as defeated followers of the Pretender, scores of their comrades, like the Regulators at Alamance, had felt the keen edge of the British sword. As an act of royal favor, these followers of the Pretender had been permitted to come to America and build new homes in a strange land. They had had enough of war, they had taken the oath of allegiance to the Crown, and, being royalists at heart, they had little sympathy with the political views of the Whigs in Carolina. Many of them had but recently come to North Carolina, and their purses were empty. Serving as paid soldiers in a cause they believed in was far better than fighting with strangers against a government whose power they feared and whose rule they had sworn to support. They therefore gladly received the Governor's emissaries when they came among them in behalf of the royal cause.

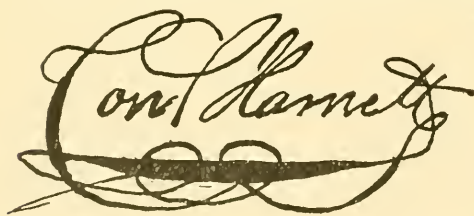
In the meantime Martin's alarm was increasing daily. In a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, he wrote (May, 1774): "In this little Town (*i. e.*, New Bern) they are now actually endeavouring to form what they call independent Companies under my nose, & Civil Government becomes more and more prostrate every day."* He had the guns in front of the palace dismounted in order to keep them from falling into

* Colonial Records, Vol. IX, 1256.

the hands of the "Committee of that Town," but when a few days thereafter the angry people, led by Abner Nash, demanded his reason for such action, he claimed that he had done so because he feared that the rotten gun-carriages were unable to stand the strain of discharge at the approaching celebration of the King's birthday.* This seemed to satisfy the "mob," as he called it, but fearing further violence, he sent his family to New York and then fled to Fort Johnston at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, arriving there June 2, 1775.

In a few days Martin heard that Robert Howe was then on his way to the Fort at the head of a band of patriots. He immediately dismounted the guns and took refuge on the *Cruizer* sloop of war in the river near by. Soon after arriving on the *Cruizer* he wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth, and, after referring to the King's recent proclamation proscribing John Hancock and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, said: "And seeing clearly that further proscriptions will be necessary before Government can be settled again upon sure Foundations in America, I hold it my indispensable duty to mention to your Lordship, Cornelius Harnett, John Ashe, Robert Howes, and Abner Nash * * * as proper objects for such distinction in this Colony * * * that they stand foremost among the patrons of revolt and anarchy."†

Three days afterwards, five hundred men, led by Ashe and



Harnett, came to the Fort and burned it. As Martin stood on the deck of the *Cruizer* that July morning and looked in helpless wrath at

the burning Fort, he must have felt more than ever that Ashe

* Colonial Records, Vol. X, 42.

† Colonial Records, Vol. X, 93.

and Harnett were indeed and in truth the "patrons of revolt and anarchy." But he was neither an idle man nor a coward. He begged permission to be allowed to raise a battalion of Highlanders and asked that the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel held by him prior to his coming to North Carolina be restored to him. The government declined to return his commission, but instructed him to organize the Highlanders and informed him that an officer would be sent to take command of them.

His activity in rallying the Highlanders and the belief that he intended to incite the slaves to revolt (which he denied except as a last resort),* led the Wilmington Safety Committee to forbid any one to communicate with him without having first obtained permission from some Safety Committee.

On August 8th, Martin issued his "Fiery" proclamation denouncing Ashe, Howe, Caswell, and others, the actions of the Safety Committees in the province, and the "resolves" of the people of Mecklenburg, and warned his Majesty's subjects not to send delegates to the Provincial Congress soon to meet in Hillsboro. The only notice that the Congress took of his proclamation was to denounce it as "scandalous, scurrilous, and malicious" and to order it to be "burnt by the common hangman."

Among the many acts of this Congress (which now became the legislative body in the province) was one providing for the raising of two regiments to serve in the Continental Army. James Moore of New Hanover was appointed Colonel of one of them. We shall soon hear more of him and his Continental regiment.

Early in 1776 Martin's heart was gladdened by the receipt of a letter telling him that Lord Cornwallis and seven regi-

* Colonial Records, Vol. X, 138.

ments would soon sail to his relief on a fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker. Additional aid was also to be brought to him from the north by Major-General Clinton.* The time for action was at hand. The Highlanders, Regulators, and all other loyalists must be brought down to the coast to join with the coming British soldiers and march through the province to overawe the people. All of his insults and injuries, beginning with the first Provincial Congress and ending with his virtual imprisonment on the *Cruizer*, are to be avenged at last. The rebellion will be crushed and his Majesty's lawful government restored.

He issued a proclamation declaring it to be necessary to raise the royal standard and calling on all of his Majesty's faithful servants to repair to it or be regarded as "Rebels and Traitors." He had long looked for and planned for the coming of this hour.

Donald McDonald, an old hero of Culloden and Bunker Hill,† who had been sent to North Carolina by General Gage,‡ had been in the neighborhood of Cross Creek for months advocating the King's cause. Having been appointed General, he raised the royal standard and called on all to rally to it. In a few days two thousand Tories had assembled at Cross Creek and were ready to be led to Brunswick by February 15th, according to Martin's instructions. Will the well-laid plans of the Governor succeed? We shall see.

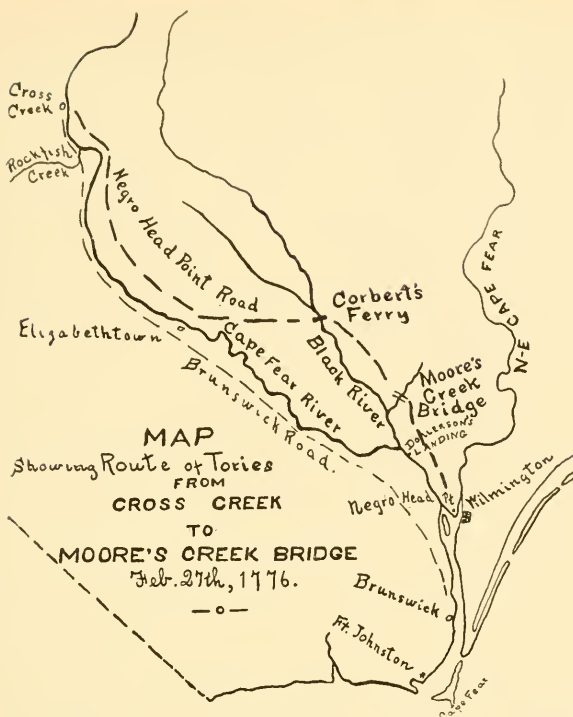
Colonel Moore now marched his Continental regiment to meet the Tories and fortified a position at Rockfish Creek, eight miles from Cross Creek,§ on the road running to Brunswick along the south side of the Cape Fear.

* Colonial Records, Vol. X, 412.

† Caruthers' Incidents, 56.

‡ Colonial Records, Vol. X, 325.

§ Now Fayetteville.



In the meantime the Committee of Safety at New Bern, hearing of the Tory uprising, had ordered Richard Caswell, Colonel of minute-men in the New Bern military district, to "march immediately with the Minute Men under his Command to join the Forces"* from the other parts of the province for the purpose of suppressing the insurrection. The militia colonels in the several counties in the district who, according to the military act adopted at Hillsboro,† were outranked by the Colonel of minute-men in the district, were ordered to take their men and "join the Minute Men under the Command of Colonel Richard Caswell."‡ While Caswell was hurrying from the east to join Moore at Rock-

* Colonial Records, Vol. X, 444.

† Colonial Records, Vol. X, 199.

‡ Colonial Records, Vol. X, 444.

fish, several other colonels from different parts of the province were marching rapidly to the front for the same purpose.

By the middle of February Moore had with him at Rockfish a force consisting of his own Continentals, Alexander

Alex Lillingston

Lillington, Colonel of minute-men of the Wilmington district, with one hundred

and fifty men; Colonel John Ashe of New Hanover, with one hundred volunteers, and Colonel James Kenan with the

James Kenan

Duplin militia. Colonel Thackston of the Hillsboro district and Colonel Martin of the Salisbury district were in striking distance of

Cross Creek. In a few days McDonald marched to within four miles of Moore's position and sent him the following letter:

"HEADQUARTERS, February 19, 1776.

"SIR:—I herewith send the bearer, Donald Morrison * * * to propose terms to you as friends and countrymen. I must suppose you unacquainted with the Governor's Proclamation, commanding all his Majesty's loyal subjects to repair to the King's royal standard, else I should have imagined you would, ere this, have joined the King's army, now engaged in his Majesty's service. I have therefore thought it proper to intimate to you that, in case you do not, by twelve o'clock to-morrow, join the royal standard, I must consider you as enemies, and take the necessary steps for the support of legal authority. I again beg of you to accept the proffered clemency.
* * *

"I have the honor to be, in behalf of the Army, sir.

"Your most humble servant,

"DONALD McDONALD.

"P. S.—His Excellency's Proclamation is herewith enclosed."

Moore had had practically no military training, and yet he was a born strategist, as is shown by his management of the troops under his command in this campaign. To make sure of his game he "plays for time" until Thackston and

Martin may be near enough to cut off the enemy's retreat,* and hence his method of reply in the first of the following letters:

"CAMP AT ROCKFISH, February 19.

"SIR:—Yours of this date I have received; in answer to which I must inform you that the terms which you are pleased to say * * * are offered to us as friends and countrymen, are such as neither my duty nor inclinations will permit me to accept, and which I must presume you too much of an officer to expect of me. You were right when you supposed me unacquainted with the Governor's Proclamation; but as the terms therein proposed are such as I hold incompatible with the freedom of Americans, it can be no rule of conduct for me. However, should I not hear further from you before twelve o'clock to-morrow, by which time I shall have an opportunity of consulting my officers here, and perhaps Colonel Martin, who is in the neighborhood of Cross Creek, you may expect a more particular answer; * * *

"I am, sir, your most obedient and humble servant.

"JAMES MOORE."

"CAMP AT ROCKFISH, February 20, 1776.

"SIR:—Agreeable to my promise of yesterday, I have consulted the officers under my command, respecting your letter, and am happy in finding them unanimous in opinion with me. We consider ourselves engaged in a cause the most glorious and honorable in the world, the defense of the liberties of mankind, in the support of which we are determined to hazard everything dear and valuable; and in tenderness to the deluded people under your command, permit me, sir, through you, to inform them, before it is too late, of the dangerous and destructive precipice on which they stand, and to remind them of the ungrateful return they are about to make for their favorable reception in this country. If this is not sufficient to recall them to the duty they owe to themselves and their posterity, inform them that they are engaged in a cause in which they can not succeed, as not only the whole force of this country, but that of our neighboring Provinces, is exerting and now actually in motion to suppress them, and which must end in their utter destruction. Desirous, however, of avoiding the effusion of human blood, I have thought proper to send you a copy of the Test recommended by the Continental Congress, which, if they will yet subscribe and lay down their arms by twelve o'clock to-morrow, we are willing to receive them as friends and countrymen. Should this offer be rejected, I shall consider them as enemies to the Constitutional liberties of America, and treat them accordingly. I can not conclude without reminding you, sir, of the

* Moore's letter to Harnett, *Rev. Hist. of N. C.*, Hawks, Swain, Graham, 218.

oath which you and some of your officers took at New Bern, on your arrival to this country, which I imagine you will find difficult to reconcile to your present conduct. * * *

"I am, sir, your most obedient and humble servant, J. MOORE."

"HEADQUARTERS, February 20, 1776.

"SIR:—I received your favor * * * and observed the declared sentiments of revolt, hostility, and rebellion to the King, and to what I understand to be the Constitution of this country. If I am mistaken, future consequences must determine; but while I continue in my present sentiments, I shall consider myself embarked in a cause which must * * * extricate this country from anarchy and licentiousness. I can not conceive that the Scots emigrants, to whom I imagine you allude, can be under greater obligations to this country than to the King under whose gracious and merciful Government they alone could have been enabled to visit this Western region: and I trust, sir, it is in the womb of time to say, that they are not that deluded and ungrateful people which you would represent them to be. As a soldier in his Majesty's service, I must inform you, if you are yet to learn, that it is my duty to conquer, if I can not reclaim, all those who may be hardy enough to take up arms against the best of masters, as of Kings.

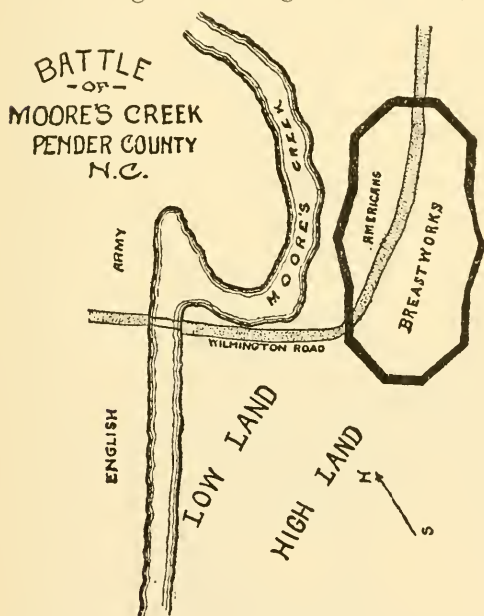
"I have the honor to be, in behalf of the Army under my command, sir, your most obedient servant,

"DONALD McDONALD.

"To JAMES MOORE, ESQ."

The next day Moore was informed that the enemy had crossed the Cape Fear the night before near Cross Creek and was then on the way to Wilmington. He knew the country perfectly and formed his plans immediately. Thackston and Martin were ordered to take possession of Cross Creek so as to prevent the enemy's return to that place, a special courier ordered Caswell to take possession of Corbert's Ferry over Black River, while Lillington and Ashe were sent to reinforce Caswell, if possible, but if not, to take possession of Moore's Creek Bridge, which, like Corbert's Ferry, was on the road the Tories were traveling to Wilmington. And now with every avenue of escape closely guarded, Moore and his Continentals, accompanied by Kenan and the Duplin militia, rushed down to Elizabethtown, hoping to cross the river there in time to meet McDonald on his way to Corbert's Ferry or to "fall in their rear and surround them

there." Every order of Moore, the Commanding Colonel, was obeyed to the letter. Thackston and Martin took possession of Cross Creek, Caswell went to Corbert's Ferry, and Lillington and Ashe took their stand at Moore's Creek Bridge. Soon Caswell informed Moore that the Tories had raised a flat, sunk in the Black River, five miles above him, and by erecting a bridge, had crossed it with their whole army.* Moore immediately hurried on towards Moore's Creek and ordered Caswell to do the same. In faithful obedience to the orders of his superior officer, Caswell, who had been joined by Colonel John Hinton of Wake County, marched to Moore's Creek Bridge, arriving there at night,† February 26th, where he found Lillington and Ashe in an entrenched position on a sandy elevation, about one hundred yards from the bridge. The flooring of the bridge was taken up, the pine pole girders



thoroughly greased with tallow, over which quantities of soft soap were poured to make crossing the more difficult, and then the patriots resolutely awaited the coming of the Tories.

We are now on the eve of a decisive battle which is to determine North Carolina's stand in the long struggle for American inde-

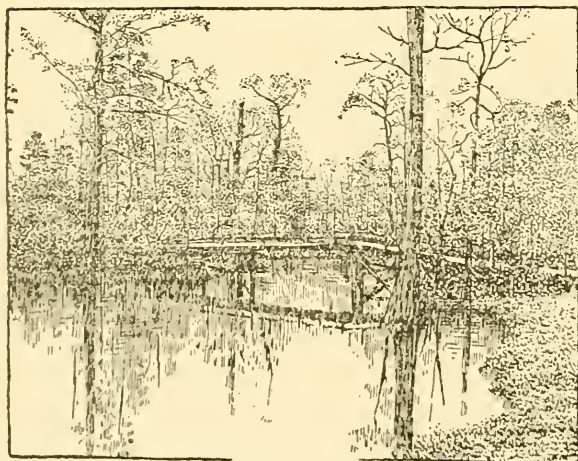
pendence. From across the ocean Cornwallis and his regiments are coming to help establish forever the rule of Great

* Moore's letter to Harnett, Rev. Hist. of N. C., Hawks, Swain, Graham, 219.

† Caswell's letter to Harnett, Colonial Records, Vol. X, 482.

Britain in North Carolina, Clinton and his army are on their way down the coast to join Lord Cornwallis at the mouth of the Cape Fear, and Governor Martin, eager to welcome the coming of the Highlanders and Regulators, has moved up the river near to Wilmington, where, under the pretext of demanding supplies from its citizens, he stands on the deck of the *Cruizer* sloop of war anxiously awaiting to catch sight of the advancing loyal clans and hear the triumphant sound of the Scotchmen's bagpipes. But whether North Carolina is to be saved to the British Crown or not depends not so much on the coming of Cornwallis and Clinton as on McDonald's leading his army safely over the bridge and on through the patriots' lines of defense. Far out there in the piney woods of North Carolina, away from British interference, the Tories and the patriots are soon to settle forever, at the point of the sword, the political future of the province.

In the early morning of February 27, 1776, the Highlanders began their march. They moved bravely on, led by their gallant commander, Colonel McLeod, who crossed over on the poles, and seeing an abandoned entrenchment "next



MOORE'S CREEK BRIDGE, 1904.

the bridge," supposed that the patriots had fled. With a glad shout he called to his followers that the day was won; but just then the alarm gun sounded, volley after volley

was poured upon the advancing columns, the little cannon on the breastworks swept the bridge, McLeod fell riddled

with bullets, and the Tories, stunned by the destructive and unexpected resistance, fled in confusion before the now advancing patriots, who quickly replaced the flooring of the bridge and rushed on in pursuit of their enemies. In the meantime a detachment of patriots had crossed the creek above the bridge and added to the defeat of the Highlanders by a flank attack.

Thus in a few minutes sixteen hundred* Tories had been put to flight by one thousand patriots, who had only one killed and one wounded.† “The number (of Tories) killed and mortally wounded * * * was about thirty; most of them were shot on passing the bridge. Several had fallen into the water, some of whom, I am pretty certain, had not risen yesterday evening (February 28th) when I left the camp. Such prisoners as we have made, say there were at least fifty of their men missing.”‡

General McDonald, who had been too unwell to command the Tories during the battle, was captured the next day at a house a few miles from Moore's Creek Bridge. Together with Allan McDonald and many other prisoners he was sent to Halifax for confinement and afterwards to Philadelphia.

A few hours after the engagement Colonel Moore arrived on the ground, and, although he was too late to take active part in the battle, he could but rejoice in the successful execution of his well-laid plans by his subordinate officers, whose every movement had been in strict accord with his direct orders.

The results of the victory were most important. The patriots roamed over the country in pursuit of the Highlanders and Regulators, disarming them wherever found. Among the trophies were “350 guns and shot-bags; 150 swords and dirks; 1,500 excellent rifles; two medicine chests, fresh from England, one of them valued at 300 pounds sterling; a box containing half Johanesses and Guineas, secreted

* Caswell's letter to Harnett, *Am. Archives*, 4th Series, Vol. V, 62.

† Moore's letter to Harnett: *Hawks, Graham, and Swain*, 218.

‡ General McDonald's estimate, *ibid.*

in a stable at Cross Creek, discovered by a negro, and reported to be worth 15,000 pounds sterling; thirteen wagons, with complete sets of horses, and 850 common soldiers," who were disarmed and then discharged.

This brilliant victory saved North Carolina to the cause of American independence; it showed that North Carolina was able to hold in check the Tories within her borders; it won over to the cause of freedom many who had hitherto held back for fear of England's power, and it so thoroughly broke the spirit of Regulators and Highlanders that they never again rallied to the support of the royal cause—no, not even when in 1781, Cornwallis marched among them on his way from Guilford Court-House to Wilmington. And the fact that ten thousand men, during this month of February, 1776, had taken up arms in defense of liberty, showed that North Carolina's opposition to wrong and oppression had reached the fighting point of seriousness, thus teaching England what to expect from all of her southern colonies.

Soon after the battle, Cornwallis and Clinton reached the Cape Fear, learned of the defeat of the Tories and sailed away to South Carolina, taking with them Josiah Martin, the last of North Carolina's royal Governors. Space will not permit our following him further at this time.

Unfortunately there is a dispute as to whether Lillington or Caswell commanded the American forces at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge.

According to an act of the Provincial Congress, passed at Hillsboro, September 7, 1775, a colonel of minute-men in a military district ranked the militia colonels in that district, but was himself ranked by a colonel in the regular army. In case two colonels of minute-men should hold commissions of the same date, the Provincial Council was to determine the relative rank of each. Lillington, Caswell, and several others were made colonels on the same day,* and there

* At Hillsborough, Sept. 9th, 1775, by the Provincial Congress, in which both Lillington and Caswell were members and present. Colonial Records, Vol. X, 205, 165.

has not yet been found any record of the Provincial Council determining their relative rank.

The spirit of the military legislation of the times was that a resident colonel or general of one district, while in his district, ranked an officer of the same grade coming from another district.*

The battle was fought in Lillington's district, and according to Caswell's own statement he found upon his arrival at Moore's Creek Bridge, the night before the battle, a detachment of the Wilmington Battalion of minute-men already on the ground "under the command of Colonel Lillington."† Certainly Lillington, who had come to Moore's Creek in obedience to Colonel



LILLINGTON'S CRESCENT.‡ Moore's orders, and had thrown up defences,§ and taken his position behind them ready to receive the coming foe, would have hardly given up the post of honor to Caswell, who had been ordered to Moore's Creek Bridge by Colonel Moore, simply because the Tories had crossed the river five miles above his (Caswell's) position, and had again begun their march towards Wilmington. No doubt a glad shout greeted "Caswell and the brave officers and soldiers under his command" as they marched over the bridge that February night and took their position in the rear¶ where they might support those already posted on the fighting line. A visit to the locality and a careful study of the battlefield and the old breastworks, yet to be seen, will, I think, convince one that this would be the natural arrangement of troops arriving there at different times. The only man killed was

* Colonial Records, Vol. X, 530.

† Colonial Records, Vol. X, 482.

‡ Many of the patriots wore silver crescents on their hats during the battle. Lillington's was sent, with other Revolution relics, to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, where the whole collection was lost. This statement is made on the authority of Col. A. M. Waddell and Mrs. T. H. MacKoy, a descendant of Lillington, who yet mourns the loss of this relic worn by her patriotic ancestor.

§ Colonial Records, Vol. XV, 785, 788.

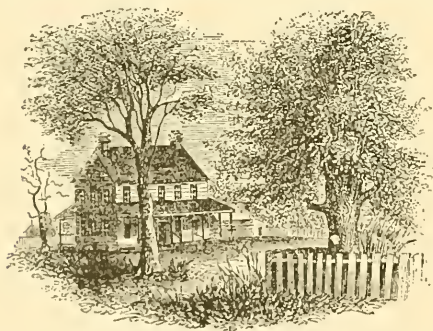
¶ James Sprunt Monograph, No. 4, 121.

John Grady of Duplin. We are told that he belonged to the company of Captain Love, who lived in New Hanover, near the Duplin line. If so, he was no doubt either a minute-man in Lillington's Battalion, since his county was in the Wilmington district, or belonged to Ashe's New Hanover volunteers, which formed a part of Lillington's command, a fact helping to show that Lillington's men were in the front of the fight. It is said that he did not go to the war until Caswell's command passed his home, when he marched away with it, and thus reached his old company in time to give his young life for his country.

Tradition in the neighborhood of the battlefield gave the praise of leadership to Lillington, "and the matrons and maidens of New Hanover would often beguile the winter nights by a popular song, whose burden was the field—

"'Where Lillington fought for Caswell's glory.'"*

Mr. Joshua G. Wright, in a speech delivered at the dedication of a monument on the battlefield in 1857, said: "Aye,



LILLINGTON HALL.

even from the lips of the late Colonel Samuel Ashe, we have it that Lillington was the Great Leader of the contest." Colonel Ashe was in his fourteenth year at the time of the battle and must have received his information from his uncle, who was there with his volunteers.

Lillington died ten years after the battle and was buried at his home, Lillington Hall, about six miles from Rocky Point. The following inscription on his tombstone is of great

* McRee's Iredell, Vol. I, 272.

interest and help in determining the question of command at Moore's Creek Bridge:

BENEATH THIS STONE
LIE THE MORTAL REMAINS OF
GENERAL
JOHN ALEXANDER LILLINGTON,
A SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION
WHO DIED IN 1786.
HE COMMANDED THE AMERICAN FORCES
AT THE BATTLE OF MOORE'S CREEK,
ON THE 27TH FEBRUARY, 1776;
AND BY HIS MILITARY SKILL
AND COOL COURAGE IN THE FIELD
AT THE HEAD OF HIS TROOPS, SECURED A
COMPLETE AND DECISIVE VICTORY.
TO INTELLECTUAL POWERS OF A HIGH ORDER
HE UNITED AN INCORRUPTIBLE INTEGRITY
AND A DEVOTED AND SELF-SACRIFICING
PATRIOTISM; A GENUINE LOVER OF LIBERTY,
HE PERILLED HIS ALL TO SECURE THE
INDEPENDENCE OF HIS COUNTRY,
AND DIED IN A GOOD OLD AGE,
BEQUEATHING TO HIS POSTERITY
THE REMEMBRANCE OF
HIS VIRTUES.

The claim that Caswell commanded the American forces at Moore's Creek is based on the following resolution adopted by the Provincial Congress at Halifax six weeks after the battle:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Congress be given to Col. Richard Caswell, and the brave officers and soldiers under his command, for the very essential service by them rendered this country at the battle of Moore's Creek."

Now, who were "the brave officers and soldiers under his command," to whom thanks were given for "the very essential service" rendered at Moore's Creek?

We have already seen that when the New Bern Safety Committee heard that the Tories were about to march to Brunswick, it ordered Colonel Caswell of the minute-men in the district to "march immediately with the Minute Men

under his Command to join the Forces which may march from different Parts of this Province,” and that it also ordered the militia Colonels of Dobbs, Johnston, Pitt, and Craven counties to take their troops and “join the Minute Men under the Command of Colonel Richard Caswell.”*

Having been ordered to “join,” and not having been ordered to take command of, forces coming from other parts of the province, he and “the brave officers and soldiers under his command” acted in accordance with the orders of Colonel James Moore from the time of their arrival in and up to their departure from the Wilmington military district. Two days after the battle, in a letter to Harnett, Caswell wrote: “I, therefore, *with Colonel Moore’s consent*, am returning to New Bern with the troops *under my command*”—that is, with those he had brought with him *from his own district*, and not Lillington’s men, for they went down to the defense of Wilmington.†

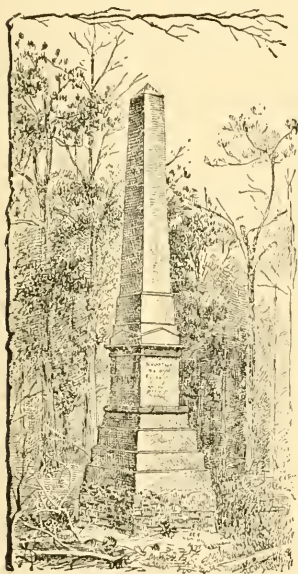
With the evidence before me I believe that the vote of thanks to Caswell has been misconstrued beyond the intent of the Congress; that Lillington, the resident Colonel of minute-men in the district, was technically the ranking officer in the battle; that he bore the brunt of the attack and turned the enemy back; that Caswell joined in the pursuit and helped to make the victory more complete; that each strove for victory, thinking little of rank; and that the Provincial Congress, to which Caswell had already been elected and to which he had come to take his seat as a member from the county of Dobbs, naturally and gladly greeted with a vote of thanks him who, twice their representative in the Continental Congress, had successfully led eight hundred men into a neighboring district where they rendered “very essential service” in gaining the first great battle of the Revolution.

The great and undisputed hero of the campaign, however, was James Moore of Brunswick, Colonel of the First North

* Colonial Records, Vol. X, 444.

† Colonial Records, Vol. XV, 785, 788.

Carolina Regiment in the Continental Army. He planned the whole campaign, provided for every contingency, and drove the enemy into the hands of the two brave colonels who had taken their stand at Moore's Creek Bridge in faithful obedience to his orders. The success of the American arms is due entirely to his foresight, energy, and skill; and the Provincial Council, the military Board of Control in the Province (to whose presiding officer, Cornelius Harnett, both Moore and Caswell had sent separate reports of the engagement*), most promptly and properly passed the following resolution at a meeting held in New Bern, March 4, 1776:



MONUMENT AT MOORE'S CREEK.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this Council be given to Col. James Moore and all the Brave Officers and Soldiers of every denomination for their late very important services rendered their country in effectually suppressing the late daring and dangerous insurrection of the Highlanders and Regulators, and that this Resolve be published in the North Carolina Gazette."†

In 1857 a monument was erected on the battlefield to commemorate the victory. On one face of the monument is the name of LILLINGTON and on the opposite one is that of CASWELL; on the third face is the inscription already quoted, while on the remaining face is the following:

* Am. Archives, 4th Series, Vol. V, 61, 62.

† Colonial Records, Vol. X, 475.

HERE LIE THE REMAINS OF
PRIVATE JOHN GRADY,
OF DUPLIN COUNTY,
WHO FELL BRAVELY FIGHTING FOR HIS
COUNTRY—THE FIRST MARTYR IN
THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IN NORTH
CAROLINA, AND THE ONLY WHIG
KILLED IN THE BATTLE.

It would be of great interest, did space permit, to write more fully of these gallant leaders—Moore and Kenan, Thackston and Martin, Lillington and Caswell, Ashe, Hinton, and others. Their names will ever be gratefully remembered when the story is told of how they fought the fight that saved our State and won “The first victory of the Revolution.” But of equal interest, charm, and pride would be the story of the lives of the brave men they led to battle, those sturdy patriots who never laid aside their arms until independence was acknowledged, and who then went back to their homes where, as quiet private citizens, they helped to build up the “Old North State”—that State which their descendants will ever love, honor, and defend.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

HENRY JEROME STOCKARD.

He is not greatest who with pick and spade
Makes excavations for some splendid fane;
Nor he who lays with trowel, plumb, and line
Upon the eternal rock its base of stone:
Nor is he greatest who lifts slow its walls,
Flutes its white pillars, runs its architrave
And frieze and cornice, sets its pictured panes,
And points its airy minarets with gold:
Nor he who peoples angle, niche, and aisle
With sculptured angels, and with symbol graves
Column and arch and nave and gallery:
These are but delvers, masons, artisans,
Each working out his part of that vast plan
Projected in the master builder's brain.

And he who wakes the organ's soulful tones,
Faint, far away, like those that haply steal—
The first notes of the song of the redeemed—
From out the spirit-world to dying ears;
Or rouses it in lamentations wild
Of Calvary, or moves its inmost deeps
With sobs and cryings unassuaged that touch
The heart to tears for unforgiven sin:
He voices but the echo of that hymn
Whose surges shook the great composer's soul.

Bold admirals of the vast high seas of dream,
With neither chart nor azimuth nor star,
That push your prows into the mighty trades
And ocean streams towards continents unknown:
Brave pioneers that slowly blaze your way
And set your cairns for people yet unborn
Upon imagination's dim frontiers,
Ye are the makers, rulers of the world!

And so this splendid land to sunward laid,
With opulent fields and many a winding stream
And virgin wood: with stores of gems and veins
Of richest ore: with mills and thronging marts,
The domain of the freest of the free—

'Tis but the substance of his dream—the pure,
The true, the generous knight who marked its bounds
With liberal hand by interfusing seas.

What though no sage may read the riddle dark
Of Croatan, that band diffused through marsh
And solitude? Their valor did not die,
But is incorporate in our civic life.
They were of those that fought at Bannockburn;
Their vital spirits spake at Mecklenburg;
They rose at Alamance, at Bethel led,
And steered at Cardenas straight through blinding shells;
They live to-day and shall forever live,
Lifting mankind toward freedom and toward God.

And he still lives, the courteous and the brave,
Whose life went out in seeming dark defeat.
The Tower held not his princely spirit immured;
But in those narrow dungeon walls he trod
Kingdoms unlimited by earthly zones;
Nor holds the grave his peerless soul in thrall;
It passed those dismal portals unafraid
To an inheritance beyond decay
Stored in the love and gratitude of man.
He lives in this fair city, noble State,
Puissant land—in all each hopes to be.
He was the impulse to these later deeds.
He lives in fateful words and splendid dreams,
In strenuous actions and in high careers,
An inspiration unto loftier things.

Upon the scheme of ages, man shall find
Success oft failure, failure oft success
When he shall read the record of the years.

THE CRADLE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.*

WALTER CLARK.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Standing on the Aventine hill, by the banks of the Tiber, we can still behold the cradle of the great Roman people, the beginning of that imperial race which for centuries held in its control the entire civilized world of their day and whose laws, whose feats of arms, whose thought, have profoundly impressed all succeeding ages.

HERE BEGAN THE GREATEST MOVEMENT OF THE AGES.

Standing here, we see the spot where first began on this continent the great race which in the New World in three hundred years has far surpassed in extent of dominion, in population and power, the greatest race known to the Old. Farther than the imperial eagles ever flew, over more men than its dominion ever swayed, with wealth which dwarfs its boasted treasures, and intelligence and capacity unknown to its rulers, this new race in three centuries has covered a continent, crossed great rivers, built great cities, tunneled mountains, traversed great plains, scaled mountain ranges and, halting but for a moment on the shores of a vaster ocean, has already annexed a thousand islands and faces the shores of a Western continent so distant that we call it the East.

We do well to come here to visit the spot where this great movement began. It was one of the great epochs of all history. Here, 36 years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, here 23 years before John Smith and Jamestown, in the year 1584, the first English keel grated on the shores of what is now the United States. Here the greatest movement of the ages began, which has completed the circuit of the globe. For thousands of years, God in His wisdom

* Address of Chief Justice Walter Clark at Manteo, Roanoke Island, July 24, 1902.

had hidden this land behind the billows till His appointed time, and in Europe and Asia millions had fought and perished for the possession of narrow lands. The human intellect had been dwarfed with the dimensions of its prison-house. In due season Copernicus gauged the heavens, revealing countless worlds beyond our grasp, and Columbus almost at the same time unveiled this tangible world beyond the Atlantic. Stunned, dazed, the mind of man slowly realized the broadened vision unrolled before it. Since then the energies of the human intellect have steadily expanded, and thought has widened with the process of every sun.

Here broke the spray of the first wave of Saxon population, and now westward across the continent to the utmost verge, and beyond it, there rolls a human sea. Three centuries have done this.

About this very date Amidas and Barlow landed here, for on July 4, a day doubly memorable on these shores, they descried land, and sailing up the coast 120 miles they entered with their two small vessels through an inlet, probably now closed. Proceeding further, they came abreast of this island, where they landed and were hospitably received.

WHAT WONDROUS CHANGES.

Nature remains unaltered. As on that July day of the long ago, earth, air and sky and sea remain the same. The same blue arch bends above us. The same restless ocean rolls. The same sun shines brightly down. The same balmy breezes breathe soft and low. The same headlands jut out to meet the waves. The same bays lie open to shelter the coming vessels. The trees, the foliage, the landmarks, would all be recognized by the sea-worn wanderers of that memorable day. But as to what is due to man, how altered!

To the westward, where the Indian paddled his light canoe on great rivers, innumerable vessels, moved by the energies of steam, plow the waters, freighted with the produce of every industry and the produce of every clime. Where the

smoke of the lonely wigwam rose, now the roar of great cities fills the ear and the blaze of electric lights reddens the sky. Where then amid vast solitudes the war-whoop resounded, boding death and torture, now rise a thousand steeples and anthems to the Prince of Peace float upon the air. Where the plumed and painted warrior stealthily trod the narrow war-path, mighty engines rush. Where a few thousand naked savages miserably starved and fought and perished, near one hundred millions of the foremost people of all the world live and prosper. Three short centuries have seen this done.

OUR CONTRIBUTION TO EUROPE.

Looking eastward, the ocean rolls unchanged, but not as then to be crossed only after two or three months of voyage. Already a week suffices for its passage and across its waves even now messages flash without the medium of wires. Beyond its shores is also a new world. When the first expedition landed here, the Turk was threatening Vienna, and the Spaniard was asserting his right to burn and pillage in Holland. The fires of the Inquisition burned in Spain and Belgium. France, sunk to a second-class power, groveled beneath the rule of one of the most worthless of its many worthless kings, the third Henry—while England, the England of Drake and Raleigh, of Shakespeare and Bacon, and of Elizabeth, already lay beneath the growing shadow of the Armada, whose success threatened the extinction of English liberty and of the Protestant religion. Russia was then a small collection of barbarous tribes, and Germany and Italy, not yet nations, were mere geographical expressions. Contrast that with the Europe of to-day. The change is barely less startling there than on this side of the water.

The change has been greatly the reflex action from this side. Civilization has been and is on the steady increase in the betterment of the masses. The leaders of thought, Shakespeare, Bacon, Michael Angelo, Dante, Petrarch, the painters, the sculptors, the statesmen, were as great then as since.

The difference is in the masses. Then they were degraded, disregarded, beaten with many stripes, dying like animals after living like brutes; to-day they have a voice in every government and are beginning more fully to perceive that they have unlimited power which they can use for their own advancement and the betterment of their material surroundings.

The change started here when a new race began, without feudal burdens and amid the breadth and freedom of untrammelled nature. With new paths to tread, new roads to make, new rivers to travel, new cities to build, men began to think new thoughts and to add to the freedom of nature the liberty of speech and of action.

WHERE THE SHACKLES OF THE AGES WERE BROKEN.

Well do we come here to visit the spot where the shackles of the ages were broken, precedents forgotten, and where man first began to stand upright in the likeness in which God had made him.

Naught tells more forcibly the depression in which the minds of the men of that day were held than the fact that the hardy English mariners, the descendants of the Vikings of old, delayed nearly a century after Columbus had discovered the New World before the foot of an Anglo-Saxon had trod the shores of North America. From the discovery in 1492 to the first landing here in 1584 and the first permanent but feeble settlement at Jamestown in 1607 was a long time. Could another new continent such as this be discovered in 3,000 miles of London to-day, not as many hours would elapse as our ancestors of three centuries ago permitted years to pass before the English race would land on its shores. In 1520 Cortez led the Spaniards to the Plateau of Mexico and subverted an empire. Yet 65 years more passed before Amidas and Barlow led the first English expedition to land on this continent.

Not only were men's minds enthralled by governments which existed solely for the benefit of the few, but the condition of the upper classes was only in degree better than that of the poorer. Coffee, sugar, tobacco, potatoes, and other articles of common use by the poorest to-day, were unknown. Queen Elizabeth herself lived on beer and beef, and forks being unknown, that haughty lady ate with her fingers, as did Shakespeare, Raleigh, and Bacon. Articles of the commonest use and necessity in the dwelling of the poorest now, were then not to be obtained in the palaces of kings. Carpets were absent in the proudest palaces, and on the fresh-strewn rushes beneath their tables princes and kings threw the bones and broken meats from their feasts. Religion was to most a gross superstition, law was a jargon and barbarous, and medicine the vilest quackery. Just in proportion as the masses have been educated, as freedom has been won by them, as their rights have been considered, the world has advanced in civilization and in material well-being.

Unlike the founding of Rome, where the seat of empire abode by its cradle, no great cities arose here at Roanoke Island, at Jamestown, nor at Plymouth. The new movement begun here was not for empire, but for the people, and it has advanced and spread in all directions.

THE GREAT DANGER TO-DAY.

In 1820 Daniel Webster delivered a memorable oration at the anniversary of the landing at Plymouth Rock. In that speech he prophesied that our free government could stand only so long as there was a tolerable equality in the division of property. What would he say could he stand here to-day and count over the names of those possessed of \$20,000,000, of \$50,000,000, of \$100,000,000, even of more than \$200,000,000, and name over the great trusts and corporations who levy taxes and contributions at their own will, greater than those exacted for all the purposes of government? He instances that when the great monasteries and other church

corporations under the Tudors threatened English prosperity the eighth Henry confiscated their property (as has been done in our day by Mexico and other Latin countries) and redistributed their accumulations. He might have added that when the new commercial monopolies under his daughter Elizabeth bade fair to take the place of the suppressed ecclesiastical foundations in recreating inequality, the Commons called on her to pause, and that haughty, unbending sovereign had the common sense to save her throne by yielding.

Mr. Webster also utilized the occasion to point to the fact that in France, by her exemption of nobles and priests from taxation, property had gravitated into their hands till the wild orgy of revolution had retransferred it to the people; and he prophesied that the new law in that country which by restricting the right to will property had prevented its accumulation into a few hands would inevitably destroy the restored monarchy and rebuild the republic. His prophecy has come true.

The great expounder of the Constitution was right. Power goes with those who own the property of the country. When property is widely distributed and a fair share of the comforts of life are equally in the reach of all, a country will remain a republic. When property, by whatever agency, becomes concentrated in a few hands, a change is impending. Either the few holders will bring in, as he stated, an army that will change the government to a monarchy, or revolution will force a redistribution, as in England and France. That has been the lesson of history.

In this day of wider intelligence and general education, let us hope and believe that there is a third way, hitherto unknown in practice, and that by the operation of just and wiser laws enacted by the sovereignty of the people, a more just and equal distribution of wealth will follow and the enjoyment of material well-being will be more generally diffused among the masses. All power is derived from and belongs to the people, and should be used solely for their good.

This is the fundamental teaching of the institutions which begin their record from the landing of the Anglo-Saxon race on these shores—a landing which was first made at this spot.

Had I the ability of Mr. Webster, could I speak with his authority, I might point out as he did the great danger of the accumulation of wealth in a few hands, and might foresee and foretell the remedies which a great, a wise, and an all-powerful people will apply. But I shall not follow in the path which he has trod, *haud passibus equis*.

Let us not forget on this occasion that to this island belongs the distinguished honor of being the birthplace of the first American girl. It is the Eden from which she sprung. She had no predecessor and remains without a model and without a rival. In that first Eden man was the first arrival and the garden was a failure. Here the girl was the first arrival and the boys have followed her ever since. Appropriately she bore the name of Dare, and daring, delightful, her successors have been ever since. We do well were we to come here solely to do honor to the memory of the first American girl—this finished, superlative product of her sex and of these later ages.

NORTH CAROLINA'S FUTURE.

When the first expedition landed here there were, it is estimated, in the bounds of the present State of North Carolina, 20,000 Indians, earning a precarious living by fishing and hunting and spending their miserable lives in slaying and torturing one another. To-day we have near 2,000,000 of the foremost race of all the world, living in peace and order. Could I, like Mr. Webster, in his Plymouth Rock oration, prophesy as to the future—100 years hence—I should predict a still greater change. I should say that with the same rate of increase North Carolina will then have 6,000,000 of people and that cities of 100,000 inhabitants will be numbered by the score; that every village will be connected with its neighbor by electric roads, for steam will have ceased to be a

motive power; that education will be universal and poverty unknown; that every swamp will have been drained to become the seat of happy homes; that every river will be deepened and straightened; that public works, operated for the benefit of the people and not for the enrichment of a few, will bring comforts and conveniences, now unknown, to the most distant fireside; that the hours of labor will be shortened; that the toil of agriculture will be done by machinery and that irrigation will have banished droughts; that the advance of medicine, already the most progressive science among us, will have practically abolished all diseases save that of old age; that simpler laws and an elevated and all-powerful public opinion will have minimized crime and reduced the volume of litigation; that religion, less sectarian and disputatious about creeds and forms, will be a practical exemplification of that love of fellow-man which was typified by its divine founder; that every toiler with brain or with hand will prosper, and that under juster laws the only inequality in wealth or condition will be that due to the difference in the energy, efforts, and natural gifts of each possessor.

This is but the first of many successive celebrations of the landing here, and if these feeble, fugitive words shall be preserved to that distant day, the speaker who shall read them to a vast audience gathered here will either justify the prophecy or at least he will say, "In the interest of the happiness of the human race, they ought to have come true."

MONUMENT TO SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

J. S. CARR.

At the great meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association held in our State Capital during the Fair of 1901, I had the honor to propose the erection of a statue to Sir Walter Raleigh.

The Association, the audience, and apparently also the people at large, responded enthusiastically to the proposition. The requisite funds would have been raised in a short while if a canvass had been then made; but, as it was rightly considered, the monument was the least part of the project. The educational value of raising a fund to erect it as far as may be practicable by penny collections from the school children is not easy to overestimate.

But there is something better even than education in history—it is the growing fellowship of North Carolinians wherever they are found; and where, indeed, are they not found? They are forming clubs and associations not only throughout this State, but in every State in which they reside. They are all united by the ties of filial affection which bind them to their mother, and they will readily respond to any call by which she may seek to bring her children together.

Our sister State, Virginia, has undertaken that vast enterprise, the Jamestown Celebration, which is drawing all Virginians together from every land and clime. Many tens of thousands of our own people from the other States into which they have gone, returning from the Jamestown Celebration, will be only too glad to join us in doing honor to the man whose untiring efforts to colonize America on the shores of North Carolina made successful colonization possible.

It is the purpose of those who have the erection of this monument at heart to bring it to pass during the Virginia

Exposition, so that the real colonizer of America may not be forgotten amid the multitude of lesser lights.

It is not expected that the fund requisite for so great an undertaking will be raised by penny collections from the school children, but the effect wherever these collections have been taken up has been to create a healthful interest in the source of our history among those who are hastening to take our places. If some well-disposed citizen in each county where the educational authorities fail, will see to it that each child in his county has an opportunity to give his penny, or in default of this will see that enough pennies are given to represent each child of school age, it will make the erection of the monument far easier and will immeasurably increase the interest in the movement.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH AND HIS COLONIES.

The Principal Events in His Life—A Study in Dates.

W. J. PEELE. •

- 1552—Walter Raleigh was born in the county of Devon, South England, at an old country-house or manor called "Hayes." He was the son of Walter Raleigh of Fardel and Katherine Gilbert, his wife. She was, also, by her first husband the mother of the celebrated Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with whom Raleigh was associated in fitting out his earlier American expeditions.
- 1566—Entered College at Oxford, England, where he remained for three years, distinguished especially in oratory and philosophy.
- 1569—Went to France as a volunteer, fighting six years in that country for the liberties of the Huguenots under the famous Admiral Coligny, the first citizen of France and the first victim of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.
- 1575—Returned to England. Studied and practised navigation and ship-building for several years, in which arts he became a master; and in the meantime he made himself familiar with the West Indies and with the American coasts and waters.
- 1578—Accompanied (according to some authorities) his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in an expedition to the St. Lawrence, in North America.
- 1580—Was commissioned captain of an hundred foot soldiers to fight the Irish rebels and their Spanish and Italian allies. His pay was only eighty cents a day—but in two years he was the most famous soldier in Ireland and attracted, by his valor and success, the notice of Queen Elizabeth.

1581—Was introduced at the Queen's court, where he continued to grow in favor until he became her most trusted adviser in military and naval affairs and the most active organizer of her forces against the Spanish.

1583—Fitted out, with the aid of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his half-brother, an expedition to New Foundland. The Queen and the public service requiring his presence in England, Gilbert was placed in command, and, after remaining on the desolate shores of that island for thirty days, the expedition sailed for England. It lost on its return voyage its brave commander in a great storm; but his last words, uttered from his sinking ship, are the best seaman's motto that has come down to us: "Be of good cheer, friends; we are as near heaven by sea as by land."

1584—March 25. Obtained charter from Queen Elizabeth under which the several settlements on Roanoke Island were made—being the first settlements of the English race in America, the beginning of the American Nation, and the seeds of Jamestown and Plymouth.

The charter was the beginning of English law in America. Emigrants to the lands that should be discovered and possessed under its authority were, by its provisions, guaranteed the rights and liberties they enjoyed in England.

1584—April 27. Dispatched an expedition of two ships under the command of Amidas and Barlow with authority to explore and take possession of such lands (not under the dominion of any Christian prince) as they should discover.

1584—July 4.* The expedition arrived off the coast of what is now known as North Carolina about one hundred and twenty miles south of an inlet not far from Roanoke Island.

*Dates from July 4, 1584, to December, inclusive, are approximate, having been obtained by estimation.

July 7. This inlet was entered and a landing effected on a part of the "Banks." The English took formal possession in the name of Elizabeth, the Queen, and Sir Walter Raleigh, the Governor of the newly discovered land; and the Queen called it "Virginia," in honor of herself, the virgin queen of England. The country embraced under this name extended from the 34th to the 45th degree north latitude—that is, from the region of Cape Fear to that where Maine touches Canada on the Atlantic.

July 10. They were first visited by the Indians, who caught for them fish, which are still abundant in those waters.

July 11. They made friends with Granganimeo, the brother of Wingina, the king of that country; the nearest mainland of which the Indians called Dasamonguepene.

July 16. They visited Roanoke Island, the cradle of American civilization, and the birthplace of Virginia Dare, the first child of English parents born in America—nature's best-protected spot on the American coast in which to have begun the hitherto untried experiment of English colonization; for the Chesapeake had been explored and sketched by the Spaniards, but the Sound section of North Carolina, behind its frowning barriers of sand, was *terra incognita*.

August. They sailed for England, taking with them the two Indians, Manteo, the friend, and Wanchese, the enemy, of the white race.

September 15. The expedition returned to England.

Barlow published an account of it which Raleigh used, with the other accounts brought back, to thrill the English people with the fever of emigrating to America—a fever which has never fallen from that day to this.

December. Was knighted "Sir Walter Raleigh" by Queen Elizabeth in honor of his exploits and discoveries.

1585—April 9. Raleigh's second expedition set out from Plymouth for the shores of "Virginia" (North Carolina) under the command of his cousin, the celebrated Sir Richard Grenville. It consisted of one hundred and eight colonists and five little ships, the largest being of one hundred and forty tons burden, the smallest, fifty. Among the other famous men in this expedition was Thomas Cavendish, who afterwards circumnavigated the globe; Hariot, the mathematician and historian, and Ralph Lane, the explorer of eastern North Carolina, and the first Governor of an English colony in America.

June 20. The vessels came in sight of "Florida," the name by which some explorers called so much of the continent as is now embraced within the limits of the South Atlantic States, and under which the Spanish claimed the land from Key West to Nova Scotia.

June 23. Sailing up the coast to what is now North Carolina, they barely escaped shipwreck on a "beach called the Cap of Feare." Probably Cape Lookout.

June 24. They came to anchor in a harbor, where they "caught in one tide so much fish as would have yielded twenty pounds in London."

June 26. They came to anchor at Wokoken, where one of the ships was wrecked in the attempt to run her over the bar of the inlet—the first recorded shipwreck in the region of Hatteras.

September 3. Was written the first letter by an Englishman in America; it was from the "New Fort in Virginia" (Fort Raleigh on Roanoke Island) and written by Ralph Lane to Richard Hackluyt of London.

Lane's colony remained in "Virginia" (North Carolina) one year wanting five days, but lost only four of its number, and these died from natural causes.

1585-6—During his occupation Lane explored the Albemarle and Pamlico sounds and their principal tributaries. He ascended the Roanoke River, called by the Indians, Monatoc, about as far as Weldon. He explored the Chowan, called by the Indians Chowanoke, as far as Wyanoke Ferry, at the junction of the Black Water and Nottoway rivers. He went north as far as the Elizabeth River and reported to Raleigh its commodious harbors and the deep waters of the Chesapeake. Hariot wrote the best account of these expeditions and a description of the principal food plants and animals which were found; and DeBry, in 1588 and in 1590, published a book illustrated with maps, pictures and drawings of the sound section of North Carolina, its inhabitants and its food plants and animals. The originals of these illustrations were made by John White, a painter, whom Sir Walter Raleigh, with the special approval of the Queen, and at his own cost, sent to our shores for this purpose. The book is the joint product of White, Hariot, and DeBry, and is the most definite and valuable early English publication that was ever published of any part of America. With Barlow's and Lane's narratives, it is the main source of the history of the earliest efforts to colonize America by the English.

1586—June 19. Lane and his colony sailed for England in the fleet of Sir Francis Drake. They had been doing well and were reasonably contented, but the sight of English ships and sailors made them homesick, and a terrible storm, such as still rage around Hatteras, completed their demoralization. They landed in England, and Raleigh introduced from our shores the use of tobacco in England and the culture

of potatoes in Ireland. Shortly after the departure of the colonists, a ship loaded with provisions for them arrived at Wokoken, but soon sailed away for England.

A fortnight later Sir Richard Grenville arrived and, finding none of Lane's colony, he left fifteen men on Roanoke Island to hold possession of the country until they could be relieved by a stronger force. No white man ever beheld their faces again. The destruction of these men first proved to the Indians that the English were not invulnerable, and begun the long battle between the two races.

1587—May 8. Raleigh's fourth expedition sailed from Plymouth for the shores of North Carolina. It consisted of three vessels with their crews and one hundred and fifty colonists, of whom 91 men, 17 women, and 9 children remained. The emigrants were under the command of their Governor, John White; they were fated to become what is known in history as the "Lost Colony."

July 16. They landed on that part of the "Banks" then known as the island of Croatan lying to the south of Cape Hatteras.

July 22. They arrived at Hatorask Inlet and passed over to Roanoke Island, where they learned the fate of the fifteen men left there by Grenville.

August 13. Manteo was christened "Lord of Roanoke and Dasamonguepeuc" by command of Sir Walter Raleigh.

August 18. Was born Virginia Dare, the first child of the English-speaking race born in America.

August ... Was born ... Harvie, the second Anglo-American.

August 27. Governor John White sailed for England, leaving his little colony to its unknown fate in the wilds of America. For three centuries the ingenuity

of poets and historians has been exercised to discover its history, but the woods have not given up their secret. Perhaps the Red Men of Croatan Island migrated inland to what is now Robeson County and carried the "Lost Colony" with them. There still resides in that region a tribe of Indians of mixed blood calling themselves by the mystic name of Croatan, and there still exists among them a tradition that they came from a region called Roanoke.

1588—Early in the year, Raleigh fitted out an expedition to relieve White's colony, and placed it under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, but, on account of the war with Spain, it was not permitted to sail.

April 22. Sent a second relief expedition consisting of two little ships loaded with provisions, but they were captured and stripped by pirates.

England being now menaced by the great invasion from Spain, Raleigh assigned his principal interests in "Virginia" to Sir Thomas Smith, Richard Hackluyt, and others, who afterwards became, *under his inspiration, the chief promoters of the settlement at Jamestown in what is now the State of Virginia.*

August. The Spanish Armada was, under Raleigh's advice, attacked at sea and destroyed before it could effect the invasion of England. He was the real author of this victory which was the turning point of England's greatness and Spain's decline. It was in the destruction of the Armada that he reached the highest point of his fortune and favor with the Queen. He was as great and brave as ever in the sea-fight in the harbor of Cadiz, and, in his expedition up the Oronoko River was as zealous as ever for the extension of the Queen's empire in America; but he did not have the same influence in the government nor receive the same recognition for his public services.

- 1589—Co-labored with his friend, the poet Spenser, and was the subject and inspiration of the best English poetry since Chaucer. He was Spenser's patron, introduced him to the Queen and procured him the leisure to write and the means to publish the poems which made their author famous. It was with Spenser that Raleigh for the next two years cultivated his natural fondness for literature which in the after years resulted in his "History of the World" and other literary works.
- 1590—March 20. The fifth expedition, being the second under John White, sailed from Plymouth for Roanoke Island.
- August 15. The ships came to anchor at "Hattorask Inlet," which was then reckoned to be 36 degrees and 20 minutes North latitude, and this reckoning locates this inlet north of Roanoke Island.
- August 17. White went with a party of men to Fort Raleigh, but found it dismantled and deserted. The colony had vanished; only the name "Croatan" carved on a tree could give a clue to its new abode; and he, who "joyed" in this "certain token of their being safe," left the country without making an honest search for their recovery. He who had before deserted his colony, could now be satisfied with only a "token" of their safety.
- August 18. (The anniversary of the birth of Virginia Dare). The expedition sailed away and the "Lost Colony" was "lost" in the deep solitudes of North Carolina's forests—*affording the first of the many lost chapters of our history.*
- 1591—November. Raleigh wrote an account of the famous sea-fight between his ship the "*Revenge*" under the command of his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, and a Spanish fleet of fifteen vessels. This is one of his best pieces of prose literature, and the subject of it,

England's bravest sea-fight—the Thermopylae of naval warfare.

1592—Married Elizabeth Throckmorton, the Queen's maid of honor, and forfeited the favor of the Queen, who was herself reputed to be in love with him. He was debarred from her court for five years, but he did not cease to serve his country.

1592—July 28. Was imprisoned in the Tower of London on account of the anger or jealousy of Queen Elizabeth. During his imprisonment an expedition he had fitted out captured the Spanish plate-ship the *Madre de Dios* with its cargo valued at two and a half millions.

September 21. Was released from prison as the only man in England who could save the treasure of the great prizeship from the plunder of his own countrymen. The Queen, as sovereign, took the lion's share of what he recovered.

1594—Sent a ship to get information concerning Guiana, in South America, which the Spanish had then lately annexed to their dominions and named the "New El Dorado."

1595—February 6. Sailed with an expedition to explore and take possession of Guiana.

March 22. Anchored off the island of Trinidad and shortly took possession of it as a base of operations from which to explore the continent. This island still belongs to Great Britain.

April. Began his famous voyage up the Orinoko River, which he explored for four hundred miles from its mouth.

His expedition remained in Guiana, Trinidad, and the American waters for several months. He was reported sailing along the coast of Cuba in the month of July, and he landed in England some time in October. *He told the Spanish Governor of Trinidad that*

he was on his way to his settlement in "Virginia," but there is no record that he touched our coast.

December. Published an account of his explorations, which were speedily translated into Latin and German and circulated over Europe.

1596—Sent another expedition to Guiana, which explored the South American coast as far south as the Amazon. Of this also he published an account, written, as was the other, in some of the best prose of the Elizabethan period; in both he set forth to the English people the boundless wealth of America and the advantage and practicability of colonizing it. Of the vast territory in the region of the Oronoko and the Amazon which Raleigh urged England to seize, it now holds British Guiana—a country about one and a half times the size of North Carolina.

June 21. Led the English to victory in the great naval battle of Cadiz. This fight placed him on the pinnacle of his fame as commander of warships, reinstated him in the counsels of his sovereign, and made Great Britain, for the first time, mistress of the seas.

1597—Sent another expedition to Guiana, which obsequiously confirmed his own previous accounts. It returned without adding any new information or materially advancing the policy of exploration and conquest which lay next to his heart. It was shrewdly surmised that the Spanish, failing in open warfare, were beginning to try the effect of gold upon his subordinates as well as his superiors in office.

September. Stormed, at the head of a small force, the town of Fayal in the Azores. It was his last battle and only added another spark to the envy of him which now increased with his fame.

1602—November 4. Had his last interview with Queen Elizabeth.

1603—Despatched two expeditions to America, the last of *five which he sent at his own charge to search for the "Lost Colony."*

March 30. The Queen died, and with her perished Raleigh's hopes of preferment and even of personal safety. He had spent his years of freedom in opposing "the tyrannous ambition of Spain," and now his well-beloved England was to be governed by a monarch, James I., who had taken into his counsels the mercenaries of Spain—the country with which Raleigh was even then urging war. He also wrote a letter denouncing Cecil, James' chief officer and adviser and one who was then *privily receiving five thousand crowns a year from the Spanish Government.*

July 17. Was arrested on the charge of treasonable conspiracy with the Spanish Government.

July 18. Was imprisoned in the Tower to await his trial which could not commence at once on account of the great plague which was then raging in London.

November 17. He was brought to trial at Winchester on the charge of high treason, and convicted on the same day. The prosecution was conducted by the famous law-writer, Coke. Raleigh plead his own cause, the laws of England not allowing him to have counsel for his defense; nor was he confronted by the witnesses against him. The jury was packed, the testimony against him was perjured, the Court was subservient to the Crown, and at least one member of it, Cecil, was in the pay of the Spanish Government. Immediately after his conviction he was roundly abused from the bench by Chief Justice Popham, who presided over the Court, and then sentenced to death. But he was not then executed. Popular favor which he had sacrificed some years before by accepting from Queen Elizabeth a monopoly of the tax on wines and

liquors, was in a measure now restored to him on account of his persecution and misfortunes. *England would not believe, though a court record had spoken the lie, that the great enemy of Spain who had spoiled her by land and ruined her prestige on the seas, would betray into her power his own country.*

December 10. His sentence was commuted to imprisonment. The man of action and exploit was now caged for his long confinement. He was stripped of his vast possessions that they might enrich the fawning favorites of the King.

1604—In prison he took up the study of physical sciences, especially the properties of medicinal herbs, and his cell became the resort of learned men. He was visited by those concerned in his plans for colonizing America, among them his friend Hariot, who wrote the most intelligent account of Lane's expedition. Hackluyt, patriot and historian, also the principal assignee of his franchises and interests in "Virginia," more than any other man caught the spirit of his enterprise and kept popular interest alive, *until King James was forced by public sentiment or tempted by his own lust for fame and dominion to give his sanction to sending a colony to America.*

1606—The most persistent efforts were made to set Raleigh at liberty, as his colonizing scheme again grew into favor. Queen Anne of England, and the King of Denmark, and James' oldest son, Henry, used their utmost efforts in his behalf, but without avail.

1606—April 22. James granted a new charter to the two companies who now proposed to undertake the colonization of "Virginia." *Among the four named corporators of the company which settled Jamestown stands the name of Raleigh Gilbert, doubtless a nephew of the great explorer, after whom he was named. The treasurer and general manager of this*

company was Sir Thomas Smith, who had acted in the same capacity over the company by which the settlements on Roanoke Island were effected. Of the nineteen corporators of the "City of Raleigh" which John White was enjoined to build in 1587, ten were among those who subscribed to the Jamestown expedition. Raleigh in prison, the men he had inspired were still chief promoters of American colonization.

1607—January 1. *The expedition under Captain Newport, known as the Jamestown expedition, set sail for Roanoke Island, but was driven by a storm in the Chesapeake Bay, the shores of which, twenty years before, Raleigh had designated for the settlement of the lost colony. This Chesapeake country was within the limits of the territory granted him by Queen Elizabeth, and his grant was kept in force in the hands of his assignees until it was revoked by James to pave the way for that monarch to possess himself of the fruits of Raleigh's labors and at the same time belittle so much of his fame as he could not appropriate.*

The people of the nineteen States and five parts of States embraced in the territory of Raleigh's "Virginia" on this side of the Mississippi owe to him their first debt of gratitude for the land they occupy. It is fitting that North Carolina, on whose soil his far-reaching experiments were made, should have taken the lead in erecting suitable memorials of his labors: but the other States, and Virginia especially, should be proud to follow the State which more than a century ago named its capital in his honor.

1614—Published his "History of the World"—a book commended by Cromwell and studied by Milton. Raleigh's royal persecutor objected to its circulation on the ground that its criticism of the ancient Assyrian kings and of Henry VIII. of England might be con-

strued into a reflection on James' own government. The notion that only a king was competent to sit in judgment on the conduct of a king, with the similar fallacies inherited from him by his son, Charles I., cost the latter first his crown and then his head.

1616—March 19. Was released from the Tower after an imprisonment for more than twelve years, broken in health and no longer fitted to endure the activities which had made him famous, but in spirit he was as undaunted as ever, and immediately began to fit out an expedition to America.

His enthusiasm seemed to suit the purposes of the King, who was bent on marrying his son Charles into the royal family of Spain and hoped that the fear of the great "sea-rover" might succeed where diplomacy had failed.

1617—June 12. Sailed out of Plymouth harbor on his last voyage for America. His expedition had been partly appointed by his enemies and not without design. One ship deserted him before he was half across the Atlantic; another was lost in a storm; others still were hulks of disease commanded by disloyal captains and manned by men whom he called mere "scum." There is no better picture in English history than that of this old man, broken in health, racked by fever, long separated from the kindred spirits of his dauntless manhood, steadily setting his face toward the sunset to make his last play for a continent which the vanity and treachery of his King cast away.

November 17. Anchored in the mouth of Cayenne River in the island of Trinidad. On the mainland the Indians still remembered him, though it was more than twenty years since his first visit, and flocked to the coast when they heard he had returned.

Himself too feeble to lead, he dispatched his son and his old friend Captain Keymis, with a party of

men, up the Oronoko to search for a mine the Spanish and the Indians had told him existed somewhere in that region.

December 31. The party were attacked by the Spanish near San Thome, and in the fighting which followed the younger Raleigh was killed at the head of his command.

1618—The Oronoko expedition returned and brought with it the certain tidings of its failure and disasters and also a letter which proved that the King of England had warned the Spanish Government of Raleigh's approach. The great navigator saw now that he had been betrayed into a death-trap.

Reproached by him for his ill-success, Keymis committed suicide. In a council of the remaining captains, Raleigh proposed that they revictual the ships in Virginia and return to search for the mine, but two of them deserted, leaving him without sufficient force to contend with his daily increasing enemies. All his resources exhausted at last, he sailed homeward by way of New Foundland; but there is no record that he passed near enough to our shores to behold the land he had spent more than a million dollars to colonize as measured in the currency of these times.

June 21. Arrived at Plymouth in his flag-ship the *Destiny* and shortly thereafter was arrested. The King held out his execution as an inducement to the proposed marriage of his son Charles to the Spanish Infanta. The wily Spaniards were shrewd enough to have the execution come off first, and the marriage never came off at all.

October 15. The King of Spain declined James' offer to turn Raleigh over to him to be executed, but requested that the business be done by the English King, and as soon as possible.

October 28. Raleigh was condemned to die on the old charge of treasonable conspiracy with the government whose head was now demanding his death for the invasion of Spanish territory.

October 29. Was executed in the 67th year of his age, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, soldier, navigator, explorer, author, poet, philosopher, and patriot; the statesman who wrested our continent from Spain, the pioneer who first planted the seeds of law and liberty and Anglo-Saxon civilization in America, the hero-martyr of English colonization on our shores.

His name and fame are indissolubly linked with North Carolina. He made the first chapter of her history, which is also the first chapter of Anglo-American history, and one day the English-speaking race on this continent, with the Carolinians in the lead, will call its brethren across the seas and go back to the island where it began its conquering march to do honor to the man who gave himself and all he had for its advancement.





GL I INTO VIRGINIA.

THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA—A STUDY IN LOCATIONS.*

W. J. PEELE.

There is a belief among the present inhabitants of Roanoke Island that Amidas and Barlow came into the sound through an inlet opposite to the island. They say little in support of that view, so visitors usually give it small consideration. A little cape running out from the island into Roanoke Sound, still called "Ballast Point," marks the place where the early colonial navigators cast overboard their ballast; and there stones from many lands, especially from the West Indies, may still be found. That there was an inlet at the place where they claim and that it was used by the colonial navigators is not doubted, but this fact gives but small clue to determine the point in controversy.

The inlet through which Amidas and Barlow appear to have sailed, about twenty miles northeast of Roanoke Island, was subsequently closed up and was probably very badly damaged at least as early as the great storm of 1696. Under the name of "Trinity Harbor" it is plainly laid down in both of DeBry's maps (1590), and under the name of "Worcester Inlet" it is plainly laid down in Captain John Smith's map, published in 1629.

This same storm (1696) appears to have deepened Ocracoke (called in Lawson's map "Oeacoek") Inlet. This inlet, or one near it, was called "Wokokon" on DeBry's map of Lane's expedition, the name which the Indians gave to an "out island" (meaning the banks) adjoining the inlet.

The first point of land discovered by the expedition under Amidas and Barlow (July 4, 1584) was probably what is now called Cape Hatteras—significantly named on Captain John Smith's map "Cape Amidas."

* From the North Carolina Booklet.

We learn from White's last voyage especially (1590), that the early navigators sailed up the Gulf-stream, in their voyages to Virginia, to gain the advantage of the northward current until they arrived off the coast upon which they expected to land, and that then, after taking a reckoning of their latitude, they changed their course and made toward the shore, still bearing northward, in the meanwhile, and sailing cautiously as the soundings showed that the sea was growing more and more shallow.

Under the "last and perfect directions * * * confirming the former directions and commandments" given by Sir Walter Raleigh himself to Amidas and Barlow, it is easy to believe that they knew better than to land anywhere near the South Carolina coast, which had witnessed the frightful destruction of Admiral Coligny's colonists by the Spanish only a few years before. So we find the first expedition, on July 2d, in "shoal water" and near enough to the shore to smell "so sweet and strong a smell as if in some sweet and delicate garden * * * by which," Barlow continues, "we were assured the land could not be far distant," and it was near at hand, though they sailed two days more before they saw it. Sailing up from the south or southeast and "bearing but slack sail, the 4th of the month we arrived," continues Barlow, "upon the coast, * * * and we sailed along the same one hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance or river issuing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us we entered." Sighting the land from a point, say twenty miles south of Cape Hatteras, they continued sailing along (but now for the first time in sight of) the coast and northward until they found an inlet—passing, probably *in the night*, the two they might have entered or tried to enter if the same had "appeared" to them—and finally entering one some twenty miles northeast of Roanoke Island. The distance as the crow flies is not over seventy miles, but as sailed was probably nearer a hundred, and easily estimated, by one unacquainted with the

currents, at "a hundred and twenty." They were strangers feeling their way for a day and night, at least, along an unknown coast, straining their eyes and imaginations to divine the meaning of the long yellow ridge of sandhills that stretched like a huge serpent before them. The record of Barlow, and that of those who followed him in the subsequent expeditions (from 1585 to 1590), indicates mistakes more considerable than this, their first exaggeration. Another reason why the first point of land sighted off our coast should be Cape Hatteras rather than Cape Lookout, or any point in its vicinity, is that the very next expedition (that of 1585) and the others which followed found many inlets between the regions of Cape Lookout and Trinity Harbor, and "made tryalls of many," and no reason can be seen why this expedition should not have done the same thing if it had struck our coast as low down as the subsequent expeditions did.

The inlets in that part of the coast between Cape Hatteras and Trinity Harbor were beaten through the banks by the prevalent storms from the northeast, the violence of which may well be imagined when, as we learn from Barlow, the inlet through which the first explorers sailed was six miles from sea to sound, which was the width of the island through which it was driven; and as it may have been diagonal in its direction across the banks, this would easily have made it seven miles in length. This explains what Barlow meant when he said: "This land [the banks on the south side of the inlet] lay stretching itself to the west—which after we found to be but an island twenty miles long." The indication is that he was not then considering the length of the island which he "after" saw, but the *breadth*, which he could then easily see straight down the inlet for six or seven miles, for he was standing on the sandbanks ("being but of mean height") adjoining it. It can not be supposed that he could see through the woods for twenty miles down the banks, for they were

then well wooded, and, even within the memory of men still living, nearly covered with live-oaks.

White appears to have entered at this same inlet in 1590, when he came to look for his lost colony; and it is well to note here, also, that his reckoning placed it at *thirty-six degrees* and twenty minutes—only about ten miles too high for Trinity Harbor as measured by our more accurate instruments. He indicates its direction too, for he said the wind blew “at northeast and *direct* into the *harbor*”—the name by which this inlet was often called—“Trinity Harbor” being the full name given on DeBry’s maps; but the “*Trinity*” part of the name is not mentioned in any other record. It is probable that White looked down this inlet southwest to Roanoke Island, for he says: “At our first coming to anchor on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Isle of Roanoke *near the place where I left the colony in 1587.*” This was the north end of the island, where the remains of Fort Raleigh may still be found. It need not confuse the careful reader that White called this inlet, or the banks adjoining, “Hatorask,” while DeBry, on both his maps, writes that same name near to an inlet opposite the *south end* of Roanoke Island. The Indians doubtless called the banks all along there, perhaps clean down to Cape Hatteras, by that name, while the English very naturally used it to designate the inlet or banks adjoining it, or they might logically, or perhaps negligently, have applied the name to two inlets piercing the banks known among the Indians by one name. It is of course possible that after using Trinity Harbor to make their first entry, they found the lower inlet better suited for their purposes and adopted it, calling it “Hatorask.” If this lower inlet, or the one six or seven miles north of it, afterwards called Roanoke, was, or subsequently became, the best, Trinity Harbor would have been speedily abandoned with little ceremony and its very name forgotten.

The establishment of this view, however, only makes With's (or White's, as the English translation of Hackluyt expresses it) drawing, "The Arrival of the English in Virginia," all the more certainly a picture of the landing of Barlow's expedition, as will presently appear, for the boat with the eight or nine men in it is *plainly sailing from Trinity Harbor southwest toward Roanoke Island and the Indian village at the north end of it*, while the record of the landing of Grenville and Lane sets forth with equal explicitness that *they* came through "Hatorask." But whatever apparent confusion there is as to names, the records plainly indicate that the early explorers from 1585 to 1590 all headed for an inlet or *harbor* "well known to our English," near Roanoke Island, called "Hatorask." The name Trinity Harbor, which only appears in DeBry's maps, may have been an afterthought with the pious Hariot, who aided in their preparation, or it may have been given by the expedition of 1584 to denote the religious purpose which our explorers, as well as others of that time, had, or thought they had, in taking possession of our shores. In the prow of the boat shown on the drawing entitled "The Arrival of the English in Virginia," stands a man holding out a cross toward the island and the village. This picture, as painted by John With (White), doubtless serves well the purpose of representing the arrival of either Amidas and Barlow or of Grenville and Lane in the year following, or both. They both came to the island through Hatorask Banks and may well have come through the same inlet. The explanation of this drawing was put into Latin by Hackluyt, and the books containing the drawing have come down to us with the explanations. The Latin (edition of 1590), as accurately translated, says: " * * * Entering, therefore, the inlet and pursuing our navigation a little way, we observed a great river *making its way out of this region of the aforesaid islands* [the coastal islands constituting the banks already mentioned in the explanation], which, however, we could not ascend by reason of its narrowness and the heaps of

sand which obstructed its mouth." The old English reads: "After wee had passed opp and sayled ther in for a short space wee discovered a myghtie riuer *falling downe into the Sounde* over against those ilands, which, nevertheless, wee could not sayle opp anything far by reason of the shallewnes, the mouth ther of beinge annoyed with sands driven in with the tyde." The Latin evidently described Currituck Sound, but the English also fits the Albemarle, as represented on DeBry's maps, *with a bar across its mouth*. While the illustration represents the first coming of the English to Roanoke, and perhaps as well also the second, the *explanations*, both in English and Latin, appear to be mainly descriptive of the second landing on the island which both White and Hariot saw with their own eyes, and the latter doubtless instructed Hackluyt about Virginia as he did DeBry. Barlow says that his expedition entered into the first inlet that appeared unto them, while Grenville experimented with inlets all the way from the region of Cape Lookout to the Hatorask Harbor. If White only made the drawing and Hariot or Hackluyt was the author rather than the mere translator and editor of the descriptions, we can see why he added incidents which did not occur at the first landing. The painter appears to have been using the second landing, which he saw, to aid him in describing the first, which he did not see; for if he meant to represent the second "Coming of the English into Virginia," he would, it seems, have painted the banks and inlet at Wokokon, through which Lane entered Virginia several days before he came to Roanoke Island. Perhaps Hariot or Hackluyt, who may not have had Barlow's account before him, thought the explanations fitted, or could be made to fit, both landings at Roanoke as well as the drawing. At any rate, the old English (see the translation appended hereto) left out what the Latin contains: "At length we found a certain entrance *well known to our English*." This sentence makes the Latin explanation more naturally, but not necessarily, refer to the second landing, the knowledge of the inlet

having been gained through the first expedition. There are other incidents described alike in the English and the Latin which also make the *explanation* refer to the second landing, though, as above hinted, Hariot (or whoever edited the explanations of the drawings which were supposed to have been written by DeBry or the painter himself) may not have had Barlow's account before him, and perhaps could not compare the details of his landing and the different receptions given by the Indians to the two expeditions.

However these things may be, a casual glance at the drawing itself shows that its perspective is altogether from the standpoint of ships anchored off an inlet about twenty miles northeast of Roanoke Island. From this inlet the explorations are shown to extend about the same distance in the three directions they covered—north, west, and south—just about the territory explored by the expedition of 1584 (Lane's covered more than a hundred miles in every direction). Even Currituck Sound, which they could not ascend with the boat they were in, is shown almost in its entirety, and appears wider even than the Albemarle, only the west end of which is outlined, while of the Pamlico just enough appears to show the setting of the island.

The three towns given are Roanoke, Dasamonguepeuc, "four or five miles" west of it, and Pasquenoke, a little further to the west on the north shore of the Albemarle; while Pomeioc, about twenty miles south of Roanoke Island, is not shown at all, though it would have been the nearest town and the one logically they would have first entered if they had come in twenty miles south of the island. *The inlets shown are all opposite to or north of the island*; nothing appears clearer than that the artist did not regard Pamlico Sound as forming any essential part of his picture; and the picture is a travesty on what it represents, unless the coming in was from an inlet north of the island.

Barlow's narrative, carefully considered, is hardly less conclusive. It says: "After they [the Indians] had been divers times on board the ships, myself with seven more went about twenty miles into the river that runs towards Skicoak [a town represented on DeBry's map to be near one of the tributaries of the Chesapeake and not far from the upper Chowan], which river they call Occam; and the evening following we came to an island which they call Roanoke, distant from the harbor by which we entered seven leagues." The account of Drake's voyage speaks of proceeding to a "place they [Lane's colony] called their port," the "road" of which was "about six leagues" from Lane's "fort," in an "island which they call Roanoac." This fixes the distance of the inlet, supposing they both used the same, at six or seven leagues. Barlow continues: "Beyond this island there is a mainland, and over against this island falls into this spacious water [the water in which the island was situated] the great river called Occam by the inhabitants, on which stands a town called Pomeioc, and six days' journey from the same is situated their greatest city, called Skicoak. * * * Into this river falls another great river called Cipo, in which there is found a great store of mussels in which there are pearls. Likewise there descendeth into this Occam another river called Nomopana [which is Occam extended toward Skicoak], on one side whereof stands a great town called *Chawanook*." The great river Occam is the Albemarle Sound; the Nomopana, on which was the town of Chawanook (afterwards ascertained to be a country containing eighteen towns), was what is now called the Chowan River; Cipo was the Roanoke River. The Albemarle falls into the "spacious water" in which, or at the head of which, Roanoke Island is situated, and upon which the record doubtless intended to say Pomeioc was situated, for otherwise we would be forced to extend the river Occam twenty miles below Roanoke Island, unless the narrator confuses this name with the country (Weapomeioc) on the north shores of the Albemarle.

Another point that may be noted is that the banks about twenty miles north of Roanoke Island are still about "six miles" wide.

To show that Cipo is the Roanoke, the "great river" (in the language of Barlow) that falls into Occam, it may be noted that it pours about as much water into the Albemarle as all its other tributaries combined. Lane (in 1586) thus describes it: " * * * Directly from the west runs a most notable river called the Moratok [doubtless so-called from the "principal Indian town" of the same name on its north bank]. This river opens into the broad sound of Weapomeciok [the name by which Lane called the Albemarle Sound and the country north of it]. And whereas, the river of Chawanook, and all the other sounds and bays, salt and fresh, shew no current in the world in calm weather, but are moved altogether with the wind, this river of Moratoc has so violent a current from the west and southwest that it made me almost of opinion that with oars it would scarce be navigable; it passes with many creeks and turnings, and for the space of thirty miles' rowing and more it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Greenwich and the Isle of Dogs, in some places more, and in some less; the current runs as strong, being entered so high into the river as at London bridge upon a vale water."

Nomopana, the beautiful name of the Chowan, was lost to Lane's expedition, but the "Chawanoke" country on the upper Chowan was explored and duly located on DeBry's map; this substantiates the conclusion that the Occam of Barlow's expedition was the Albemarle Sound, "the great river" into which Barlow sailed twenty miles before he came to Roanoke Island. Cipo and Nomopana being fixed as its principal tributaries also identifies it with that sound. The sound once identified, fixes the location of the inlet through which Amidas and Barlow sailed, and so fixes the spot of ground on the south side of that inlet upon which the expedition of 1584 landed and took possession of "in the right of

the Queen's most Excellent Majesty as rightful Queen and Princess of the same." John With's (White's) picture, therefore, represents an event second in importance only to the discovery of America.

Barlow's language is: "Beyond this island there is the mainland"—referring, doubtless, to Dasamonguepeue, the land immediately west of the island across Croatan Sound—for if they had been coming up from the south they would have been sailing up along the continent for about twenty miles before they came to Roanoke Island, and the waters of the Albemarle Sound (instead of the "mainland") would have been "beyond" it.

Again: "Beyond this island called Roanoke are many main islands [those along the shores of the mainland] * * * together with many towns and villages along the side of the continent. * * * " DeBry's map of Lane's expedition gives seventy-six islands, ten of which are "out-islands" (the banks), and sixty-six of which are within the sounds—one in the Albemarle, one where the waters of the Albemarle and Currituck come together; the others, except those in Currituck Sound, are all in the Pamlico, unless we except the few small ones in Croatan Sound. Those in Currituck are not referred to because they are not "together with many towns and villages," for no towns and villages are mentioned in any of the maps or records as being on this sound; therefore those referred to must be "beyond" Roanoke Island *to discoverers coming in from the northeast*. In the Pamlico Sound were shown on DeBry's map numerous islands and many points and peninsulas which might have been readily mistaken for them.

Nor does the concluding portion of Barlow's narrative conflict with the interpretation above given: "When we first had sight of this country some thought the first land we saw to be the continent, but after we entered into the haven we saw before us another mighty long sea [the water which expands through all its sounds fifty miles north and one hun-

dred and fifty miles south of Trinity Harbor]; for there lieth along the coast a tract of island two hundred miles in length, adjoining to the ocean sea, and between the islands two or three entrances; when you are entered between them (these islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places six miles broad, in some places less, in few more) then there appeared another great sea, containing in breadth, in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent, and in this enclosed sea there are above a hundred islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteen miles long [Roanoke Island], at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground. * * *

DeBry's map shows eleven inlets or "entrances," so, as Barlow expressly limits the number to "two or three," it shows that he had only examined those next to Roanoke Island—Trinity Harbor, Hatorask, and one between them.

One purpose of this discussion is to show the value of White's drawing as an historic representation of the taking possession of this continent by the English in 1584—though it is hardly less valuable if it only represents the landing of 1585. It is passing strange that no reproduction of it on a great scale, such, for example, as the painting on the drop-curtain in the Music Hall of the Olivia Raney Library, has ever been made, either for the State, the Nation, or the English-speaking people—an event in which all are interested. The artist who will reproduce, on a scale proportioned to the event, in living colors, this drawing of John White, the painter selected by Queen Elizabeth herself, will discharge a duty to his country and his race; will represent the most interesting picture connected with American history, and will show that North Carolina contains the spot on which formal possession of the continent was taken by the English race.

Below is given a representation of the drawing, together with the *explanations* in old English and a recent translation of the original Latin; also the joint preface of DeBry and Hackluyt to the Hackluyt's translation in DeBry's "True

Pictures, etc., of Virginia," and the title-page and an extract of Hariot's "Briefe Report"—all tending to throw light on the "discoveries of the new found land in Virginia"—North Carolina.

THE ARRIUAL OF THE ENGLISHMEN IN VIRGINIA.

(From DeBry's "True Pictures, etc., of Virginia.")*

The sea-coasts of Virginia arre full of Ilands, wher by the entrance into the mayne land is hard to finde. For although they bee separated with diuers and sundrie large Diuisions, which seeme to yeeld conuenient entrance, yet to our great perill we proued that they wear shallowe, and full of dangerous flatts, and could never perce opp into the mayne land, until wee made trialls in many places with or small pinness. At lengthe wee fownd an entrance vpon our mens diligent serche thereof. Affter that we had passed opp, and sayled ther in for a short space we discovered a mightye riuer fallinge downe into the sownde ouer against those Ilands, which neuertheless wee could not saile opp any thing far by Reason of the shallewnes, the mouth ther of beinge annoyed with sands driuen in with the tyde; therefore sayling further, wee came vnto a Good bigg yland, the Inhabitants thereof as soone as they saw vs began to make a great and horrible crye, as peopel which neuer befoer had seene men apparelled like vs, and came away makinge out crys like wild beasts or men out of their wyts. But beenge gentlye called back. we offered them of our wares, as glasses, kniues, babies (dolls), and other trifles, which wee thought they deligted in. Soe they stood still, and perseuinge our Good will and courtesie, cam fawninge vpon vs and bade us welcome. Then they brought vs to their village in the iland called Roanoac, and vnto their Weroans or Prince, which entertained vs with Reasonable curtesie, althoug they wear amased at the first sight of vs. Suche was our arrinall into the parte of the world which we

* Hariot also made a translation from the Latin into English.

call Virginia, the stature of bodye of wich people, theyr attire, and maneer of liuinge, their feasts, and banketts, I will particullerlye declare vnto yow.

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH TO VIRGINIA.

(From a recent translation of the Latin of DeBry's "True Pictures, etc., of Virginia.")

The coasts of Virginia abound (are fringed) with islands which afford quite a difficult approach (entrance) to that region, for although they are separated from one another by numerous and wide intervals (inlets) which seem to promise a convenient entrance, still to our great cost we found them to be shallow and infested with breakers, nor were we ever able to penetrate into the inner places (sounds) until we made trials in many different places with a smaller boat. At length we found an entrance in a certain place well known to our English. Having therefore entered and continuing our voyage for a considerable distance, we encountered a large river emerging from the region of the aforesaid islands, which, however, it was not possible to enter on account of the narrowness (of its channel), as the sands filled its mouth (Lt: a bar of sand filling its mouth). Therefore, continuing our voyage, we arrived at a large island, whose inhabitants upon the sight of us began to raise a great and awful outcry, because (forsooth) they had *never beheld men like unto us*, and taking headlong to flight, they filled all places with their yells after the manner of wild beasts or madmen. But being recalled by our friendly overtures, and our wares having been displayed, such as mirrors, small knives, babies (dolls), and other trinkets which we thought would be pleasing to them, they halted, and, having observed our friendly disposition, they became amicable and showed pleasure at our arrival.

Afterwards they conducted us to their town called Roanoac and to their Weroans, or chief, who received us very courteously, though (evidently) astonished at our appearance.

Such was our arrival in that part of the new world which we call Virginia.

I shall describe to you by illustrations (drawings and pictures) the figures of the inhabitants, their ornaments, manner of living, festivities and feasts.

TITLE-PAGE OF DEBRY'S "TRUE PICTURES, ETC., OF VIRGINIA."

THE TRVE PICTVRES
AND FASHIONS OF
THE PEOPLE IN THAT PAR-
TE OF AMERICA NOVV CAL-
LED VIRGINIA, DISCOWRED BY ENGLISMEN

*sent thither in the years of our Lorde 1585, att the speciall
charge and direction of
the Honourable SIR WALTER RALEGH Knight Lord Warden
of the stannaries in the duchies of Corenwal and Oxford who
therein hath bynne fauored and auctorised by her
MAAESTIE and her let-
ters patents.*

*Translated out of Latin into English by
RICHARD HACKLVIT.*

*DILIGENTLYE COLLECTED AND DRAOW-
ne by INOX WHITE who was sent thiter speciallye and for
the same pur-
pose by the said SIR WALTER RALEGH the year aboue said
1585, and also the year 1588, now cutt in copper and first
published by THEODORE DE BRY
att his wone chardges.*

EXTRACT TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF DEBRY'S INTRODUCTION TO THE "TRUE PICTURES, ETC., OF VIRGINIA."

"I have determined to present in this book true representations of them [the Indians] which (with the assistance of Richard Hackluyt of Oxford, a servant of God's Word, who was in that region and was the adviser that this work should be published) I have copied from a prototype imparted to me by John With, an English painter who was sent into that same region of her Majesty, the Queen of England, for the express purpose of *making its topography* and representing, according to life, the form of its inhabitants, their dress, mode of life and customs—by means of the no small outlay of the noble Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, who has expended very much in examining and exploring that region from the year 1585 to the end of the year 1588. * * * I and my children have devoted ourselves diligently to engraving and rendering of the figures into copper whenever the matter is of sufficient importance."

TITLE-PAGE OF HARIOT'S "VIRGINIA."

A BRIEF AND TRUE RE-

PORT OF THE NEW FOUND LAND OF VIRGINIA: OF

the commodities there found and to be rayzed, as well marchantable, as others for victuall, building and other necessarie uses for those that are and shal be the planters there; and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitants: Discouered by the English Colony there seated by Sir Richard Greinvile Knight in the yeere 1585. which remained vnder the gouernment of Rafe Lane Esquier, one of her Maiesties Equieres, during the space of twelue monethes: at the special charge and direction of the Honourable SIR WALTER RALEIGH Knight, Lord Warden of the stanneries; who therein hath beene fauoured and authorised by her Maiestie and her letters patents:

DIRECTED TO THE ADVENTURERS, FAUOURERS,
*and Welwillers of the action, for the inhabi-
 ting and planting there:*

By *Thomas Hariot*; seruant to the abounamed
*Sir Walter, a member of the Colony, and
 there imployed in discovering.*

IMPRINTED AT LONDON 1588.

EXTRACT FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO HARIOT'S
 "VIRGINIA."

TO THE ADVENTURERS, FAUORERS,

AND WELWILLERS OF THE ENTERPRISE FOR THE INHABITING AND

PLANTING IN VIRGINIA.

Since the first vndertaking by Sir Walter Raleigh to deale in the action of discovering of that Countrey which is now called and known by the name of Virginia; many voyages having bin thither made at sundrie times to his great charge; as first in the yeere 1584, and afterwards in the yeeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this last yeare of 1587: There haue bin diuers and variable reports with some slaunderous and shamefull speeches bruited abroad by many that returned from thence. Especially of that discovery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Greinuile in the yeare 1585, being of all the others the most principal and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey beeing a whole yeare, when as in the other voyage before they staid but sixe weeks; and the others after were onelie for supply and transportation, nothing more being discovered then had been before. * * *

I have therefore thought it good beeing one that have beene in the discoveries and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially imploide, etc.

THE PROPOSED RALEIGH MEMORIAL INSTITUTE.

W. J. PEELE.

The idea of having a celebration on Roanoke Island to commemorate the historic events associated with Raleigh's efforts to colonize America was suggested by Father Creecy as far back as 1884—the ter-centennial of the landing of the Amidas and Barlow expedition; and Senator Vance introduced in Congress a resolution respecting it. At that time our people knew so little of their own history that the proposition fell still-born.

Before and since the crucifixion it has been easy to under-rate an apparent failure. The apparent failure at Guilford Court-House paved the way for Yorktown and Peace. Between 1584 and 1590, while Raleigh was breaking Spain's sea power, he was winning from her a continent—claims to which he never ceased to assert even in prison. He was more the immediate inspiration of the Jamestown expedition than the monarch on the throne, but the continent had been already won by his bold strokes and held by his repeated expeditions until the crucial time had passed for its recovery to Spain. Its effectual colonization (which Raleigh never ceased to urge, even when fortune failed) had now become only a question of time. It was now safe for conservative and cowardly royalty to undertake it and leisurely appropriate the fame of its real author. It has been left to North Carolina to tear away the veil which mean spirits have drawn around this colossal figure. She began more than a century ago by naming after him her capital, the beautiful "City of Oaks." In a few years a noble monument to his memory will stand in the center of one of her principal squares.

At the great meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association held in Raleigh, October 22, 1901, Maj. Graham

Daves of New Bern (now deceased) offered the following resolution which he supported by an appropriate speech:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to provide for an appropriate celebration on Roanoke Island of the landing there in 1584 of the expedition of Amidas and Barlow and of the settlement in 1585-1587 of the bands of colonists sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh.

This resolution was seconded by Governor Charles B. Aycock in his well-known felicitous style and manner, inaugurating a movement which has been ever since growing in popular favor in the State and in the country at large.

On the 24th of July, 1902, a large and representative body of citizens met at Manteo on Roanoke Island, and, as a preliminary to what will be one day done on a grand scale, proceeded to celebrate by patriotic speeches and appropriate songs the historic events which had transpired there on the island more than three centuries before. Among the great speeches on that occasion that of Chief Justice Clark is given in this volume, an inspiration for the many which are to follow.

During the session of the Legislature of 1903 it was proposed to establish on Roanoke Island a memorial institution in which should be investigated and taught the arts and sciences which relate to obtaining wealth from the sea—such as ship-building, navigation, meteorology, fish culture, etc. The bill which embodied these ideas was introduced into the Legislature by Representative Thomas W. Blount of Washington County. It became a law the 9th day of March, 1903, and is published as Chapter 408, Private Laws of that year. Besides Representative Blount, among those most efficient in securing its passage should be mentioned Senators Donnell Gilliam of Edgecombe, Mitchell of Bertie, and Joseph A. Spruill of Tyrrell; and Representatives Guion of Craven, Etheridge of Dare.

The incorporators are Thomas W. Blount, R. B. Etheridge, Theo. S. Meekins, B. G. Crisp, F. P. Gates, A. G. Sample, R. C. Evans, J. B. Jennett, John W. Evans, W. H. Lucas,

Joseph A. Spruill, and C. W. Mitchell. The charter is unique in the history of charters. It grants powers amply sufficient for its purpose, but provides that they can not be exercised until an hundred subscribers, to be selected by the corporators named, shall subscribe a sum not less than ten thousand dollars to the capital stock of the company; "it shall then be the duty of the Secretary of State to issue a charter artistically designed and ornamented."

This preliminary fund, the amount of which is variously estimated at from ten to fifty thousand dollars, is to be subscribed first by representative North Carolinians, preferably one from each county or Senatorial District, and then by representative citizens of the United States and from other countries. Those who subscribe to this fund will have their names and autographs enrolled in the charter to be issued by the Governor and Secretary of State under the Great Seal. At the proper time a suitable reward will doubtless be offered for the best design for this instrument.

Some wealthy gentlemen from the North have already indicated their purpose to subscribe as soon as the corporation is organized and ready to take subscriptions.

The Jamestown Exposition—a little more than one hundred miles north of Roanoke Island—is attracting the attention of the world to the shores and waters of Virginia and North Carolina. Whether those in charge of that exposition will it or not, Sir Walter Raleigh is the central figure in the English colonization of America, and North Carolina should join Virginia in her efforts to make the Jamestown celebration worthy of the man and of the events he inspired.

The success of that enterprise rightly taken advantage of by North Carolina would mean almost as much for one State as for the other.

The following are some of the principal sections of the act of incorporation:

Sec. II. That the sum of fifty thousand dollars be and the same is hereby appropriated for the establishment and equipment of the said institution; and the State Treasurer is hereby authorized and

directed to pay this sum out of any fund in the treasury not otherwise appropriated upon the warrant of the board of directors of said company: *Provided*, that it shall first be made to appear to his satisfaction that the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars has been realized from other sources, at least one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of which shall have been appropriated to or made available for the buildings, equipment, and endowment of the said institution of scientific investigation and instruction: *Provided further*, that no part of the appropriation herein provided for shall be paid before the first day of January, 1907: *Provided further*, that it shall be unlawful for the board of directors of said company or the trustees of the said institution, or any of the authorities of either, to pledge the faith or credit of the said company or institution or to undertake to pledge the faith or credit of the State for any sum of money or other thing of value for the purposes of this act, or any purpose whatsoever; and that any director or trustee or other officer of the institution who shall violate this provision shall be guilty of a misdemeanor; and the State hereby notifies all persons that it will in nowise recognize the validity of any pledge, contract, or obligation so made.

Sec. IV. That the principal office of said corporation shall be at Washington, N. C., or Manteo, N. C., but the board of directors may change the principal office to some other place and may open branch offices at any place desired.

Sec. V. That the said corporation shall have full power and authority to promote, organize, and conduct on Roanoke Island, and on such other adjacent places as the stockholders may select, a celebration of the landing and settlement of Sir Walter Raleigh's colonies on Roanoke Island; the birthplace of Virginia Dare, the first Anglo-American, and the cradle of American civilization; and to hold as a part of such celebration an exposition of Indian and colonial relics, implements, weapons, utensils, curios, documents, maps, surveys, and books illustrative of that period and such other objects of historical and educational value as will show the progress of our race on this continent, and that the said corporation shall have full power and authority to do and perform all such acts and things not unlawful under the laws of this State as may be deemed necessary or proper for the successful prosecution of the above-mentioned objects.

Sec. VI. That the capital stock of said corporation shall be two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, divided into fifty thousand shares of the par value of five dollars each; but the said corporation may begin business when ten thousand dollars shall have been subscribed to the capital stock and the charter shall have been issued by the Secretary of State as hereinafter provided.

Sec. IX. That the company is authorized and empowered to establish on Roanoke Island, on lands which may be donated or purchased for the purpose, in commemoration of Sir Walter Raleigh and his efforts to colonize America, an institution for investigating and teaching useful arts and sciences, and especially those relating to ship-building and navigation, meteorology, and to the culture and propagation of fish and oysters, and the protection and preservation of aquatic birds and animals. The instruction in ship-building and navigation, and, so far as may be, in the other special subjects above named, shall be industrial, and practically illustrated by examples and work personally conducted by the students in such a way that they shall learn to apply the principles and theories in which they are instructed and be made familiar with the manipulation necessary to that end. The other instruction in the institution shall be as may be prescribed by the trustees hereinafter provided for.

Sec. XII. That as soon as one hundred subscribers, to be selected by the incorporators named in section 2 of this act, shall have subscribed a sum not less than ten thousand dollars to the capital stock of the company it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State to issue to the company a charter artistically designed and ornamented.

Sec. XV. That if the work is not begun on the business of said corporation within five years from the ratification of this act, then this charter shall become void and of no effect; otherwise so, it shall remain in full force and effect for the period of thirty years from the date of its ratification.

The island itself—the fulcrum by which Raleigh raised a continent into English possession—is interesting without its history and associations. Thirteen miles long—a mile for each of the colonies of Raleigh’s “Virginia”—and three in breadth, this cradle of the Anglo-American race, like the ark in the bulrushes, lies embowered in evergreens amid the gently heaving waters of four sounds—Albemarle, Pamlico, Roanoke, and Croatan. A little to the east of it, and between it and the stormy Atlantic, is ridged the great barrier of sand, all knotted like a huge serpent, and stretching itself in the sheen of its yellow beauty for two hundred miles between the ocean and the sounds.

In the little landlocked sea, the best-protected waters on the American coast, in the safety and the privacy of great dame Nature was prepared the birthplace of the Nation, which has become the greatest of her children. After more

than three centuries a feeling akin to homesickness stirs the breasts of Americans and they are turning their longing eyes toward the place of the Nation's nativity.

About the year 1835 the romantic historian Jo. Seawell Jones visited the island while it was yet covered with the primeval forests and vine, much as it was in July, 1584, when the sight of it first gladdened the hearts of Amidas and Barlow. Jones says:

"If it should ever be the lot of the reader to stroll under the vintage shades of Roanoke—made impervious to the rays of the sun by the rich foliage and the clustering grapes above him—he will not venture to discredit the highly-wrought sketches of Hariot nor mock the humble enthusiasm of the volume now before him.

"Nature seems to have exerted herself to adorn it as the Eden of the New World. The richest garniture of flowers, and the sweetest minstrelsy of birds, are there. In traversing the northern section of the island, in the springtime of the year, flowers and sweet-scented herbs in the wildest luxuriance are strewn along your winding way, welcoming you with their fragrance to their cherished isle. The wild-rose bush, which at times springs up into nurseries of one hundred yards in extent, 'blooms blushing' to the song of the thousand birds that are basking in her bowers."

Sometimes the great Lover and Author of colors paints a sunset of green and gold on sound and ocean. Jones seems to have witnessed one of these sunsets from the brow of a sandhill during his visit, and thus describes it:

"To the westward of the island the waters of the Albemarle crept sluggishly along, and in the winding current of the Swash several vessels stood, with outspread but motionless wings. Away down to the south the Pamlico spread itself out, like an ocean of molten gold, gleaming along the banks of Chickamaconico and Hatteras; and, contrasted with this, were the dark waters which separate Roanoke from the sea-beach, and which were now shaded from the tints of the sunset by the whole extent of the island.

"A sea of glory streamed along the narrow ridge—dividing the inland waters from the ocean; and beyond this the boundless Atlantic heaved her chafed bosom of sapphire and gold against the base of yon stormy cape. I enjoyed and lived in that sunset twilight hour. I thought of the glorious destiny of the land on which I trod—as glorious as the waters and the earth then around me. I thought of the genius and the death of Raleigh—of the heroic devotedness of Gren-

ville—of the gallantry of Cavendish and Drake—of the learning of Hariot—of the nobleness of Manteo, the Lord of Roanoke—of the adventurous expedition of Sir Ralph Lane up the river Moratock—of the savage array of the bloodthirsty Wingina—of the melancholy fate of the last of the Raleigh colonies—of Virginia Dare, the first Anglo-American—of the agony of her mother—and then I thought of those exquisite lines of Byron—

"Shrine of the mighty, can it be
That this is all remains of thee?"

In 1901 Col. F. A. Olds visited the island and told a part of what he saw as follows:

"The center of attraction is Fort Raleigh. Along roads of white sand, beneath pines with which the bright green of the holly is mingled, the way lies to the fort. To the right, after going a little distance, rise in long lines the sand-dunes, vast mounds, the creation and sport of the winds. Looking from the top of these, one sees to the eastward the sea, green and heaving, and the curl of its breakers, and borne by the soft wind comes the thunder of the surf, almost like an echo. At one's feet lies the sound, yellow as gold, three miles in width, and so shallow that nearly the entire distance can be waded. Looking westward the island seems at one's feet.

"Descending from the height, the ride is resumed. Past houses—some modern, others gray with age—the road winds. Presently there appears a guiding hand, bearing the words "Fort Raleigh." It points eastward, and there, 100 yards away, is the fort.

"Surrounded by a fence of pine rails, with a rustic gateway of little upright poles, is the ruin. In its center stands a severely simple marble monument, and low posts of granite, a foot high, mark the venerable earthwork. The outlines are perfectly plain. The greatest height of the parapet above the ditch is some two feet. Almost an acre is enclosed by the fence, and the fort covers little more than a fourth of this area. The colonists' log huts surrounded the fort, which was their refuge. Within the limits of the enclosure are live-oak, pine, holly, dogwood, sassafras, water-oak, and cherry trees. Up one live-oak clambers a grape-vine and at its foot is an English ivy. The monument, or memorial stone, faces westward and bears this inscription:

"On this site in July-August, 1585, colonists sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh built a fort called by them "The new fort in Virginia." These colonists were the first settlers of the English race in America. They returned to England in July, 1586, with Sir Francis Drake."

"Near this place was born, on the 18th day of August, 1587, Virginia, the first child of English parents born in America, daughter of

Ananias Dare and Eleanor White, his wife, members of another band of colonists sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1587. On Sunday, August 20, 1587, Virginia Dare was baptized. Manteo, the friendly chief of the Hatteras Indians, had been baptized on the Sunday previous. These baptisms were the first known celebrations of the sacrament in the territories of the thirteen original States.

"The land has never been in cultivation, and to this fact is due the marvelous preservation of the ancient earthwork. In America 316 years seem a very great lapse of time, yet so old is this little earthwork, which, thanks to the care of the 'Roanoke Colony Memorial Association,' is at last marked. It is evident that the fort was made of two rows of upright palisades, or logs, between which was earth. The palisades soon decayed, but the earth retains its outline perfectly."

Prof. Charles R. Taylor, a resident of the island and principal of the High School at Wanchese, writes in 1902:

"Much of the beautiful scenery of that age has passed away. To the east lies a long and well-nigh barren strip of sand that marks the bounds of the ocean. Along the coast at nearly regular intervals are the life-saving stations, with here and there a village inhabited by oystermen and fishermen, and where many life-savers have their homes. All these banks, within the memory of their old men, were covered, with scarcely a break, with a dense forest. These have all been swallowed up by small mountains of moving sand. Roanoke Island was heavily timbered.

"Another change that has taken place within the memory of the fathers of this generation is that the island is further from the mainland. The marsh from Croatan and that from the south end of Roanoke Island nearly met, only a narrow creek separating them. This was when the waters of the Albemarle sought the ocean by Nag's Head Inlet. A storm closed this. These waters then sought to pass by way of an inlet south of Roanoke Island. Their force removed the peaty marsh and opened the wide waterway as it now is.

"For more than two centuries this section was sparsely settled. Only twenty-five years ago there were no more than five or six hundred inhabitants on this island. Their only connection with the outside world was by sailing vessels. They were difficult of access, and made little improvement. * * *

"Dare County was formed after our Civil War, out of parts of Hyde, Tyrrell, and Currituck counties. This may be deemed the first marked step of advancement. Its communities, separated by water, and hitherto attending different courts, and having different political associations, were now brought together to build up their own section.

"The people are now united as a county, with their court-house finely located, and accessible from every quarter. The wealth of fish and fowl, which the Heavenly Father has placed in their waters, is now fully appreciated, and is simply enormous. They now have excellent steamboat communication with the outside world. The people have built themselves homes that would be creditable to any rural section of the State. Besides the schools in the various parts of the county, they have built two commodious academies on Roanoke Island—one at Manteo and the other at Wanchese. These are conducted by graduates of leading colleges in Virginia and North Carolina. There are, moreover, as many young men and women attending schools of high grade from this island as from any place of the same area in the State, cities excepted. Nor is this all. Their churches are nowhere surpassed in any country-place known to the writer. These people fear God and honor Him."

The island contains a population of about eighteen hundred people engaged for the most part in fishing and agriculture. This number is considerably swelled by visitors at certain seasons.

From the light-house on Bodie's Island, a few miles to the south of Roanoke, is spread out one of the most interesting panoramas on the American coast. The historic island, the Banks, where the first landing was made, the sounds with their deep shaded shores, and the limitless expanse of the ocean conspire together to make a picture that shall not be soon forgot.

NATHANIEL MACON.*

THOMAS M. PITTMAN.

About us on every hand is peace. But the occasion, this place, these monuments speak of war—a war patriotic in its beginning, glorious in its conduct, far-reaching in its consequences, which ended the sovereignty of the King and ushered in the sovereignty of the people and in which a loyal colony was transformed into the free State of North Carolina. The privations and dangers of war gave way to the cares and perplexities of civil life under new and untried conditions. The foundations of government had been well laid in constitutions for which existed no precedents of form or interpretation, but the details and policies of both State and National Governments were literally to be spelled out under circumstances demanding almost infinite patience and courage. It was inevitable that differences should result in opposing parties. Visions of empire, of wealth, and position fixed the fancy of some on a government of power and dignity, which should be made strong by the control and direction of the great and wealthy few. To these, constitutions were but shackles that impeded the progress of brilliant policies and to be got rid of as far as possible, if not by repeal, then by a broadness of interpretation which should make all things possible.

Others saw visions of manhood—self-governing, exalted, and dignified. To these, constitutions were the safeguards of liberty—as the strong walls of a city shutting out foes which threaten its safety. One saw the splendor and luxury of the few, the other saw the dignity, safety, and the prosperity of the many. So much being understood, an insight is possible into the life of the man whose memory we honor to-day.

* Address at Guilford Battle-ground.

Nathaniel Macon was born in Granville County, now Warren, December 17, 1757. His father was Gideon Macon, a native of Virginia, descended from the Huguenot Gideon Macon, who settled in that State some time prior to 1682. Martha, a daughter of this first Gideon, married Orlando Jones and was grandmother of Martha Custis, the wife of George Washington. His mother was Priscilla Jones, daughter of Edmund Jones of Shocco, and Abigail (Sugan) Jones, reputed the first white woman to cross Shocco Creek into the up-country.

Nathaniel was one of the younger, possibly the youngest, of eight children. His father died when he was about five years old. His mother subsequently married James Ransom, and from that marriage sprung Gen. Robert Ransom and his distinguished brother, Matt. W. Ransom. At an early age Nathaniel gave such promise of those strong moral and intellectual qualities which distinguished his mature years that, notwithstanding the moderate means of the family, it was determined to give him a collegiate education. The few classical schools then in the State were conducted chiefly by Presbyterian ministers who were educated at Princeton College—then as now an institution of very high rank. Through the influence of these teachers it contributed more than any similar institution to higher education in North Carolina. The fact that young Macon was sent to that college indicates the influence of some one of those teachers, most likely Rev. Henry Patillo, who taught in Orange and later in Granville, and was chairman of the Committee of Safety of Bute County from its organization. His reputation as a teacher was excellent, and specimens of his handwriting, now in my possession, indicate that he was a man of culture. I have not been able to learn when Mr. Macon entered college, but it was probably about 1775. In 1776 when he was not yet eighteen years of age, his studies were interrupted for a short tour of military service on the Delaware, after which he returned to his classes. The gifted and patriotic Dr. Wither-

spoon was then President of Princeton, and the value of his influence upon the life of the young man can not now be measured.

Of young Macon at this time his friend and biographer, Hon. Weldon N. Edwards, writes:

"His own inclinations eagerly seconded the hopeful purpose of his friends. While there he prosecuted his studies with fond diligence and sought all the avenues to useful knowledge with unflagging zeal. Nor did he relax his efforts in this respect after his return home, devoting to such books as were within his reach all the time he could spare from the ordinary duties of life. * * * In the latter part of his life he was often heard to say that his eyesight failed him sooner than it otherwise would have done in consequence of his reading so much by firelight in his youth and early manhood—being then too poor to buy candles—his small patrimony having been exhausted during his minority in his support and education."

In 1779, when the war-clouds had descended upon the South, he laid aside his studies at college and, hastening home, enlisted as a private in a company of which his brother John was captain. He continued in the service as a private, except as interrupted by legislative duties, until provisional articles of peace were signed in November, 1782, and "though commands and places of trust and confidence, as well as of ease and safety, were often tendered him, he invariably declined them"; nor would he ever accept a cent of pay for his service. When the war was over and provision was being made for the soldiers of the Revolution, he declared that "no state of fortune could induce him to accept it." His was a knightly spirit freed from the license and extravagance of knighthood. He served from the love of serving, and when the frosts of many winters had crowned his head, the State was still to him "Our beloved mother, North Carolina."

While in the army and scarcely yet twenty-three years of age, he was elected the first Senator from Warren County to the General Assembly of North Carolina. It is said that his first intimation of the election was a summons from the Governor to attend a session of the Assembly, and that he would have declined the honor but for General Greene, who heard

of his purpose and persuaded him that he could be of greater service to the army in the State Senate than as a private in the ranks. It was during the time of the famous retreat from South Carolina, which led to the battle of Guilford Court-House and the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The American Army had just crossed the Yadkin and was taking a short and much needed rest on its northern side while the British pursuit was delayed by a flood in the river. Mr. Macon's refusal to obey the Governor's summons was talked about the camp until it came to the knowledge of General Greene, who was deeply impressed by such a preference. The army was in a destitute condition and the outlook gloomy. The General sent for the young man and asked an explanation of his strange conduct. Macon replied "that he had seen the *faces* of the British many times, but had never seen their *backs*, and he meant to stay in the army till he did." General Greene knew men and quickly realized that one stood before him through whom the army might be equipped for the great emergency that was upon it. Under these circumstances Mr. Macon was persuaded to enter the Senate. He did not disappoint his General's expectations. Largely through his efforts the pressing necessities of the army were supplied. The battle of Guilford Court-House was made possible, from which British dominion over the colonies went down in the gloom of defeat at Yorktown.

He was Senator five terms, beginning in 1781. His recognition was prompt, and the records of the Senate show that he was one of the most industrious and influential members. His strict regard for the law was as manifest here as in his later life. Certain goods had been impressed from merchants in Edenton for the use of the army. It was the occasion of a petition to the Assembly. Mr. Macon, chairman of the joint committee to consider the matter, reported:

"It is your committee's opinion that the impressment of goods by general warrants is unconstitutional, oppressive, and destructive of trade."

Forty years later he wrote to his friend, Bartlett Yancey:

"The book of Judges ought to be attentively read by every man in the United States to see the terrible effect on the Israelites for departing from the law which was their constitution; and so ought the books of Samuel and Kings; indeed, the whole Bible contains great knowledge of the principles of government. The rising generations forget the principles and maxims of their forefathers; hence the destruction of free government in every age. Of what benefit was the law to the children of Israel when they departed from it, or what benefit are written constitutions if they be departed from? The wise maxims they may contain are useless, perhaps worse than useless, if not adhered to; because honest people abide by them, and others do not."

He married Hammah Plummer October 9, 1783. The marriage was a most happy one, but of short duration. She died January 11, 1790, leaving a son, who died in his seventh year, and two daughters, Betsy K., who married William Martin of Granville, and Seigniora, who married William Eaton, Sr., of Warren. He never married again.

Mr. Macon established his home on Buck Spring plantation, some ten miles northeast of Warrenton. Here died and were buried the wife and son, and here were spent the long years which grew into lonely old age. In a splendid grove of many hundred oaks he built a plain dwelling of poplar plank. One room sixteen feet square, a half-story above and a basement below, was this mansion. It was in keeping with his slender means at the outset of life, and wholly sufficient for the simple tastes of the lonely man when the light of his life had gone out. Offices such as were common in that section were placed about the grove for the accommodation of guests. The old-time kitchen with its great fire-place, in which I have stood fully erect, was nearly in front of the dwelling and close by. As usual in old places in that country, the barns and stables were first reached in approaching the house. The great spring from which the place derived its name was in a well-stocked deer park. Mr. Macon took much pleasure in sport and disposed of his deer by will. In December, 1824, when sixty-seven years of age, he wrote Mr. Yancey from

Washington: "I caught twelve foxes before I left home; ate of the venison of five wild deer," etc.

I visited the old home in 1898, in company with Dr. Francis A. Macon, and obtained photographs of some of the most interesting objects. Some five hundred oaks of the old grove remained. The dwelling, kitchen, some old barns and servant houses were then standing. A friend in Warren County writes me: "I would lay emphasis upon his unfailing honesty, the intimate, friendly and social relations he maintained with his neighbors, his faithful attendance upon the little country church,* his interest in the young." These were characteristics of his home life and greatly endeared him to his neighbors, by whom he was known as Mr. Meekins. This pronunciation of his name was insisted upon by Mr. Macon himself, but was not so much relished by his grandchildren. One of these, by way of protest, offered his grandfather some bacon at dinner on one occasion, calling it "beckins," and justified himself by the argument that if M-a-c-o-n spelled "Meekins," b-a-c-o-n spelled "beekins." We are not told that the argument was convincing.

A short time after his wife's death Mr. Macon entered upon that public service in which he was to win enduring fame and a larger measure of affectionate regard than falls to the lot of most public men. At the opening of the first session of the Second Congress, on October 28, 1791, he took his seat as a member from the Warren District. At that time the Federalists were in power and already committed to the open-door theory of constitutional interpretation and to the doctrine of implied powers. Against these Mr. Macon was unalterably set. The gentle Huguenot blood on the one side with traditions of kingly falsehood and oppression; the hardy pioneer strain on the other, with its record of hardships and dangers overcome, were a heritage of preparation for a life cast in heroic mould. In 1764 that portion of Granville in which he lived had been cut off and erected into the county of Bute. Here his boyhood witnessed the agitation which pre-

* Mr. Macon was a Baptist, and attended Gardner's Church, near his home, in Warren county, under the pastorate of Rev. Willoughby Hudgins.

ceded the revolution. Almost from his very door went the "Serious address to the inhabitants of Granville." Only a little way off at Hillsboro were the stirring events of the Regulation. From his own, Bute, by the hand of Thomas Person, went the petition of his kinsmen and neighbors. When, after years at the feet of Witherspoon, where enthusiasm was tempered by knowledge, he returned to join in the struggle of his kinsmen for liberty, in the county of Bute, where there "were no Tories," he found at the head of the Committee of Safety his old preceptor, Patillo, and associated with him the men of his own family—Ransom, Alston, Hawkins, Greene, Seawell, Johnston, and Jones. About him were men who had conquered stream and mountain and forest; who had established homes of virtue and industry and thrift; who, in the Colonial Assemblies, had proved themselves the equals of the English governors sent to rule over them, and who, upon this sacred ground and a hundred other battlefields, had shown their manhood in the face of the best soldiers of Europe. Could a man born and reared under such circumstances and among such men doubt their capacity for self-government or look with any degree of patience upon the acquisition of power by trickery in the interpretation of the Constitution? Not Macon, at any rate.

As a member of the minority, Mr. Macon had little opportunity to promote any important legislation in Congress; but here, as in the State Legislature, he received early recognition. His course was marked by sound judgment and industry, and by a strict adherence to the Constitution. His first real opportunity came in the great political contest of 1799-1800, which ended in the final defeat of the Federalist party. Judge Story in his notable address on Marshall gives this account of that struggle:

"The session of Congress in the winter of 1799 and 1800 will be forever memorable in our political annals. It was the moment of the final struggle for power between the two great political parties which then divided the country, and ended, as is well known, in the overthrow of the Federal administration. Men of the highest talents

and influence were there assembled and arrayed in hostility to each other; and were excited by all the strongest motives which can rouse the human mind: the pride of power, the hope of victory, the sense of responsibility, the devotion to principles deemed vital, and the bonds of long political attachment and action. Under such circumstances (as might naturally be expected) every important measure of the administration was assailed with a bold and vehement criticism, and was defended with untiring zeal and firmness."

No man came out of this struggle with more distinction than Mr. Macon. It left him the recognized leader of his party in the House of Representatives—and Speaker. He held this position during three terms with entire independence, and yet with satisfaction to all parties. His sickness and absence from place prevented his further election.

It is impossible in a short address to discuss Mr. Macon's Congressional career in detail. He was attentive and prompt in meeting every duty. We may note a few instances of the part he played and the views he expressed.

The depredations upon our commerce, growing out of the war between Great Britain and France, caused much irritation in the United States. Various expedients were proposed to meet the situation, such as new treaties and the embargo act. Mr. Macon was solicitous to pursue a course which might bring relief and yet avoid war. He said:

"This Nation, in my opinion, must take her choice of two alternatives: to be happy and contented without war and without internal taxes, or to be warlike and glorious, abounding with what is called honor and dignity—or, in other words, taxes and blood. If it be the first, the people will continue to enjoy that which they have hitherto enjoyed—more privileges than have fallen to the lot of any nation with whose history we are acquainted; they will, as they have done, live plentifully on their farms, and such as choose will carry on a fair trade by exchanging our surplus productions for such foreign articles as we may want. If we take the other ground, we shall, I fear, pursue the same career which has nearly, or quite, ruined all the nations of the globe. Look at the people of England—legally free, but half their time fighting for the honor and dignity of the crown, and the carrying trade—and see whether they have gained anything by all their battles for the Nation, except taxes; and these they have in greatest abundance. Look also at France before the Revolution, and we shall see a people possessing a fertile country and fine climate

having the honor to fight and be taxed as much as they could bear, for the glory of the Grand Monarque. Let us turn from these two great nations, and view Switzerland, during the same period. Though not powerful like the others, we shall see the people free and happy without wars, contented at home, because they have enough to live comfortably on and are not overtaxed. The history of these three nations ought to convince us that public force and liberty can not dwell in the same country."

When the interference with our commerce became intolerable under the later British Orders in Council, and the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, he became a leader in the movements for relief. As chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, he reported and secured the passage of a bill through the House, known as Macon Bill No. 1, which was understood to have the approval of the President and Mr. Gallatin. It excluded French and English warships and merchant vessels from our ports, restricted the importation of French and English goods to vessels owned wholly by American citizens and to such as came directly from England or France. It has been characterized as the "only measure short of war which met the requirements of the case." The ground of Mr. Macon's support was that "it places restrictions on those who restrict us, and not, as at present, on ourselves." This bill was defeated by a coalition of Federalists and personal enemies of Gallatin. Macon Bill No. 2, a milder measure, was then brought forward and passed, but it was not sufficient to stay the mischief, and his wise efforts to avoid war were defeated.

When peaceful measures failed to secure protection for American interests, Mr. Macon was for war; and when that was declared he gave it hearty support. Indeed, he proposed to go further in strengthening the hands of the administration than the majority in Congress were willing to follow him. At the same time he declined to vote for certain measures that he thought unwise. This has occasioned a charge against him of voting for the war and then refusing to vote supplies for carrying it on. The imputation does Mr. Macon great injustice. Few men knew better than he the financial

weakness of the country and its inability to indulge in reckless expenditures. The closing events of the war amply justified his course. Peace became necessary because the government was unable to maintain its credit. This necessity was so great that a treaty was negotiated and signed which did not settle nor even mention the principal matter in dispute; and that question—the right to search vessels of another nation for subjects of the searching power—was never settled between the United States and Great Britain until the happening of the celebrated “Trent Affair” during our Civil War.

Mr. Macon rendered great service to the country in his defense of the Constitution. In one speech he said:

“There are five or six different ways found of getting power—by construction, by treaty, by implication, and so forth. I am willing to execute the Constitution just as it was understood by those who made it, and no other.”

And again:

“We get power faster than the people get money.”

The biographer of Randolph writes:

“Besides Mr. Randolph, Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, and Spencer Roane, Chief Justice of Virginia, were the most conspicuous statesmen in that time of amalgamation and confusion of all parties. They were ever consistent and uniform in their adherence to the principles of the strict construction school, and always urgent for those measures of economy and that course of ‘wise and masterly inactivity’ which must ever characterize a party based on such principles.”

It is at this point that men have failed to comprehend Mr. Macon. He was not what would then or now be called a progressive or constructive statesman. His idea was that the people who formed the government were entirely capable of managing it and changing it to meet their wishes when they saw fit; that the government could not enlarge its prerogative except by encroachment upon the rights of the peo-

ple; that the officers of government were the servants of the people and could have no authority except as they saw fit to confer it; that the true office of government is to protect people from interference that they may work out their own lives in the strength of their own manhood. He thought the best internal improvements were boys and girls, and that people would continue to raise them if let alone. The man was absolutely and deeply sincere. When he spoke for the people, he saw before him the neighbors and the friends from whom he had come to the Congress, by whose fireside he had sat, whose hands he had held in friendly grasp and with whom he was accustomed to exchange the courtesies of good neighborhood; and he saw an ideal State, where,

"Nursed by freedom, all her sons grew great,
And every peasant was a prince in virtue."

He wrote Bartlett Yancey in 1818:

"Be not deceived; I speak soberly in the fear of God, and the love of the Constitution; let not love of improvement or of thirst for glory blind that sober discretion and sound sense with which the Lord has blessed you. Paul was not more anxious or sincere concerning Timothy than I am for you. Your error in this will injure if not destroy our beloved mother, North Carolina, and all the South country. Add not to the Constitution nor take therefrom; no incidental power can stand alone; whatever can stand alone is substantive, not incidental. Be not led astray by grand notions or magnificent opinions. Remember you belong to a meek State and just people who want nothing but to enjoy the fruits of their labor honestly and to lay out their profits in their own way. In all countries those who have sense enough to get and keep money may be safely trusted as to the manner of disbursing it."

He was a wise and far-seeing man. Mr. Randolph declared that "if wisdom consisted in properly exercising our judgment upon the value of things desirable, Mr. Macon was certainly the wisest man he ever saw." One or two instances will illustrate this faculty of seeing ahead: When the craze for internal improvements sprung up he wrote a friend urging an examination of the Constitution "with the

sole view to decide whether, if Congress can establish a bank or make roads and canals, whether Congress can not also free every slave in the several States. There is no clause in the Constitution forbidding it." This was not urged in friendship of slavery, but wholly as a constitutional question affecting important economic interests. Indeed, he had declared in Congress that "There was not a gentleman in North Carolina who did not wish that there were no blacks in the country. It was a misfortune—he considered it as a curse; but there was no way of getting rid of them." It may be a matter of curious interest in this connection to mention the fact that Lewis Williams, member of Congress from the Surry District, as late as 1836, voted against the admission of Arkansas as a State because its Constitution permitted slavery. I will cite only one other instance, and that outside of politics: The man who introduced supplemental reading in our schools is called the John the Baptist of Education. Yet Mr. Macon advanced the very same idea and proposed a life of Washington as the book to be used for that purpose.

Men of to-day do not recognize the issues involved in the constitutional struggles of the early period. They were understood then to involve the question of popular government. Democracy was on trial. He lived to see that question settled. There were many encroachments that grieved his honest soul, but the right and capacity of the people to govern themselves was fixed. If it be true that—

"They also serve who only stand and wait,"

how great shall be the praise and glory for the man who, through long years, resisted the encroachments of power for the love he bore the people!

In 1816 Mr. Macon, without his solicitation, was transferred to the Senate of the United States and was cordially received with the same respect which had attended his whole public course. He was repeatedly elected President of the

Senate until he finally declined the honor further. He was repeatedly tendered positions in the Cabinet, urged to become a candidate for President, and was actually voted for by Virginia for Vice-President, though not a candidate. In 1828, when he was three score and ten years of age, he resigned his offices of Senator, Trustee of the State University, and Justice of the Peace. Twice afterwards he was called from retirement—once to be a member and President of the Constitutional Convention of 1835; and again to be Presidential Elector in 1836.

“A calm and steady virtue, which acts temperately and wisely, and never plunges into indiscretion or extravagance, is but too often confounded with dullness or frigidity.” In these later days there have been those who, blind to the significance of Mr. Macon’s life, have failed to see any greatness in the man. A recent North Carolina publication speaks of him as a man of “mediocre abilities and meager education, a homespun planter, honest and simple, erring more often in his grammar than in his moral principles, but knowing little of the world beyond the borders of North Carolina. No man in American history left a better name than Macon, but the name was all he left.” This is not the estimate of his own day nor of the men with whom he moved.

I have already spoken of his course at Princeton and his studious habits. In Congress he won speedy recognition, and there was no abatement of his prestige with the passing years, but ever-increasing respect. Just before his retirement Randolph wrote of him: “He richly deserves every sentiment of respect and veneration that can be felt for his character.” His speeches and writings exhibit familiar acquaintance with both ancient and modern history and full and accurate knowledge of affairs in America. As chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives in that most trying period of the strained relations with Great Britain and France, his course was characterized by the judgment, wisdom, tact, moderation, clearness of percep-

tion, and knowledge of men and affairs which had distinguished his whole public career, and commanded the respect of patriots in every party. The estimation in which he was held by men of his own time may be shown in a few utterances:

Benton in his *Thirty Years' View*, gives a chapter on the "Retiring of Mr. Macon." He says:

"I have a pleasure in recalling the recollection of this wise, just, and good man, and in writing them down, not without profit, I hope, to rising generations, and at least as extending the knowledge of the kind of men to whom we are indebted for our independence and for the form of government which they established for us. Mr. Macon was the real Cincinnatus of America, the pride and ornament of my native State, my hereditary friend through four generations, my mentor in the first seven years of my Senatorial and the last seven years of his Senatorial life."

Jefferson gave repeated evidences of the high esteem in which he held Mr. Macon as a public man by inviting him more than once to a seat in his Cabinet; but nothing surpasses a note introducing his grandson, when both men had grown old and were nearing the end of all earthly service. In March, 1826, he wrote Mr. Macon:

"My grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, the bearer of this letter, on a journey to the North, will pass two or three days perhaps in Washington. I can not permit him to do this without presenting him to a friend of so long standing, whom I consider as the strictest of our models of genuine republicanism. Let him be able to say when you are gone, but not forgotten, that he had seen Nathaniel Macon, upon whose tomb will be written '*Ultimus Rômanorum!*' I only ask you to give him a hearty shake of the hand, on my account as well as his own, assuring you he merits it as a citizen, to which I will add my unceasing affection for yourself."

John Tyler said:

"If the minds of Randolph and Macon had been properly blended, they would almost have been a model of absolute perfection—wit, genius, and fancy combined with a judgment so inflexible and erect as rarely to have been shaken."

And again in 1838, after Mr. Macon's death, he said:

"There was a beautiful consistency in his course, from the moment of his entering public life to the moment of his quitting it. Nothing sordid ever entered into his imagination. He was a devoted patriot whose whole heart and every corner of it was filled with love of country. In the House of Representatives he was the firm and the unflinching Republican, and in the Senate the venerable patriarch, contemporary of Washington and Franklin, and most worthy to have lived in the same century with them."

And it was also said of him that "he could say more while getting up out of his chair and sitting down again than most men in a long speech."

These expressions might be multiplied indefinitely, but it is needless—I will let only one other speak—his closest friend and daily companion, John Randolph of Roanoke. In December, 1838, he wrote:

"There is no one who stands so fair in the public estimation; and with the single exception of General Washington, there is not one of your times who will stand so fair with posterity as yourself."

And in his will he says:

"To N. Macon I give and bequeath my candlesticks, punch ladle, silver cans, hard metal dishes, choice of four of my best young mares and geldings, and the gold watch with gold chain, and may every blessing attend him, the best, wisest, and purest man I ever knew."

An honored official of Princeton University wrote me a few days ago:

"To say that Macon was of mediocre ability and meager education is to cast discredit at least on the judgment and discrimination of the State which so honored him."

I think the point is well taken.

The suggestion that a *good name* was all he left is not true. He boldly and ably confronted great problems of national life on their political and their moral sides. The truth and integrity of his life, the sincerity of his thought and purpose, the nobility and greatness of his character, have made it

easier for every man who has lived since his day to maintain the truth and sound principles.

Mr. Macon died June 29, 1837, at Buck Spring in the county of Warren, in the 79th year of his age, and was buried beside the wife whom he had "loved long since, and lost awhile."

His spirit has gone to its Giver. His memory remains as a benediction to the people of his and our "beloved mother, North Carolina."

In closing, I appropriate to him words that were spoken of another: "He who has been enabled, by the force of his talents and the example of his virtues, to identify his own character with the solid interests and happiness of his country; he who has lived long enough to stamp the impression of his own mind upon the age, and has left on record lessons of wisdom for the study and improvement of all posterity; he, I say, has attained all that a truly good man aims at, and all that a truly great man should aspire to. He has erected a monument to his memory in the hearts of men. Their gratitude will perpetually, though it may be silently, breathe forth his praises; and the voluntary homage paid to his name will speak a language more intelligible and more universal than any epitaph inscribed on Parian marble, or any image wrought out by the cunning hands of sculpture."

ANDREW JACKSON.*

JOSEPH P. CALDWELL.

Eighty-eight years ago to-day was fought the battle of New Orleans, the decisive conflict of the War of 1812. The harmonies are preserved when the Old Hickory Club, the namesake of the commander-in-chief in that battle, and Salisbury, which was for a period the abiding-place of its hero, unite on this anniversary to do honor to his memory and to an event which will be forever conspicuous in American history.

I do not think it admits of a doubt that Andrew Jackson was born in North Carolina. Mr. Parton, a patient investigator and accurate historian, the author of the most exhaustive life of Jackson, says he was. So also, Appleton's *Cyclopedia*, a recognized authority. Mr. Parton, before beginning his history, visited the Waxhaw settlement, in the extreme southern part of what is now Union County, N. C., spent quite a while there and in Monroe, personally investigating the facts, and lays down the positive assertion, supporting it by the testimony of credible persons and by affidavits, that Jackson was born in Union County, about a quarter of a mile from the South Carolina line. His father and mother were immigrants from the north of Ireland. With two sons, they arrived at Charleston in 1765, and made a settlement in the trackless forest on Twelve Mile Creek, Lancaster County, S. C. In two years the father of the family died and was buried in the old Waxhaw churchyard, on the North Carolina side of the State line. From the burial-ground the widow and the two fatherless sons went to the near-by house of her brother-in-law, George McKemey, and there, a few days later, on the 15th of March, 1767, Andrew Jackson was born. The site of the McKemey house

* Address before the Old Hickory Club at Salisbury, N. C.

is pointed out to this day. It argues little that Jackson always thought himself a South Carolinian. He begins a paragraph in his nullification proclamation, addressed to the people of South Carolina: "Fellow-citizens of my native State." In his last will and testament is a bequest to his adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jr., of a "large silver vase, presented to me by the ladies of Charleston, S. C., my native State." The family was of South Carolina, and it is probable that his mother never told him of his exact birthplace. It is largely immaterial. His fame belongs to the Carolinas, to the South, to America—it is, indeed, a part of the heritage of mankind.

In the nature of the case this recital must be tedious, but I am aware of the pleasures the evening has in store for some of you, and you shall not be detained beyond what your patience is able to bear.

The Jacksons were very poor—what we are accustomed to call "dirt poor"—and the educational advantages of the three boys were as poor as themselves. Young Andrew secured a little learning at the old-field schools, and his mother cherished the hope of educating him for the ministry, but the National Declaration of Independence was made when he was nine years old and the War of the Revolution came on to destroy all calculations. He saw the beginning and practically the end of his education in the schools in his first nine years, and there was thus excuse for that which his biographer said: that "he was never a well-informed man"; "he never learned to write the English language correctly;" "he sometimes spelled the same word two or three different ways in the same letter." But he must have picked up orthography and grammar rapidly as time progressed, for we are informed that "his mistakes during the last forty years of his life did not average more than five to a page."

It is alleged that he saw service in the Revolutionary War. It can scarcely be true. His eldest brother, Hugh, was in the battle of Stono, and lost his life by reason of the exces-

sive heat of the day; and Robert and Andrew witnessed the battle of the Hanging Rock, and were often abroad, guns in hand, with detached bands of patriot soldiers. On one such occasion, narrowly escaping capture, they took refuge in a house which was soon surrounded by a troop of British soldiers. The British destroyed everything in the house, and the commander ordered Andrew Jackson to clean his muddy boots. The boy refused peremptorily to do so, and the officer struck him across the head with a saber, inflicting a wound which left a scar in which Francis P. Blair laid his finger when Jackson was serving his second term as President. To the day of his death he bore resentment against the British on account of this occurrence. The elder brother, Robert, was then ordered to clean the boots, and refusing likewise, was stricken a blow from which he never recovered. The Jackson boys, with other prisoners, were carried to Camden and confined. By the efforts of their mother, they were exchanged, but Robert died in a few days and the devoted mother but a little later, and young Andrew was left alone in the world.

He is seen next in his character as a sport. He had returned to the old settlement, to which a number of fast Charlestonians had refuged, and fell in with these. He kept the paces, and when the war ended and they returned home he went with them. Reduced in his possessions to a horse, he bet this one day on a game in Charleston against \$200, and won. Putting his money in his pocket, he went back to the Waxhaw, resolved to read law instead of entering the ministry, and attended school for a while in a desultory sort of way, taught school, perhaps, and worked at the trade of a saddler. Then, disposing of the trifling belongings of the family, he took horse and rode to Salisbury. Hence he went to Morganton and applied to Col. Waightstill Avery for board, lodging, and instruction. There was not room for him in Colonel Avery's log house, and he returned to Salisbury and entered the law office of Spruce McKay, after-

wards Judge, completing his legal course here under Col. John Stokes. He and two kindred spirits, McNairy and Crawford, also law students, boarded at the Rowan House. By day they studied some, fought chickens, and raced horses much, and their nights were given over to revelry. It were like carrying coals to Newcastle to tell in Salisbury of the life of Andrew Jackson here. He and his companions roistered and frolicked, gambled and drank, and at the end, by hook or crook, got law license. He was then about 20. It is related that the landlord of the Rowan House kept his account with Jackson, as with all other boarders, on the register, charging him there, in the sight of all men, with board, whiskey, *et cetera*, and giving him credit for such amounts as he lost to him at cards. This incident suggests another which has never been written. A distinguished citizen of the State tells it, and tells that he has seen the entry to be spoken of. While he lived in Salisbury young Jackson once attended court at Rockford, then the county-seat of Surry, and left without paying his bill, which was duly charged up against him on the hotel register, which seems to have been the hotel ledger of that time, and so stood for many years. When the news of the victory of the 8th of January, 1815, was received in this then remote section, the old landlord turned back the leaves of the register, took his pen and wrote under the account against Andrew Jackson: "Settled in full by the battle of New Orleans."

The young lawyer is nearly lost sight of for a year. He is said to have lived for a period after leaving Salisbury at Martinsville, Guilford County, though nothing seems to be known of his life there. Twenty-five years ago there was pointed out to me, on the dirt road between High Point and Ashboro, a house in which it was said Andrew Jackson once lived. Could that have been Martinsville? And if so, what did he do while there? Tradition may tell, but history gives no answer.

As the tide of emigration began to sweep across the Alleghanies, young Jackson fell in with it and joined the settlement on the Cumberland. What is now the State of Tennessee was then Washington County, N. C., extending from the Alleghany Mountains to the Mississippi River, and when the differences between North Carolina and her western counties—differences which gave birth to the short-lived State of Franklin, with John Sevier as Governor—were composed, Andrew Jackson was appointed Solicitor for the Western District. This office was no sinecure. It was a frontier country filled with desperate white men and hostile Indians, and all men carried their lives in their hands. This was peculiarly the case, of course, with the public prosecutor; but the young officer braved every danger, seen and unseen, traveled long distances on horseback, often alone, to his courts, and so administered his office as to win the plaudits of the law-abiding. Meantime Nashville had become his home, and he had stepped into a large and lucrative practice. Here he boarded with a Mrs. Donelson, with whom resided at the time her daughter, Mrs. Lewis Robards, whose husband was a Kentuckian. Robards, who was of an extremely suspicious, jealous disposition, became, without reason, very jealous of Jackson, and on this account procured in Virginia a divorce from his wife. Jackson married her and they lived an ideal life until shortly after her husband was elected President in 1828, when she died. She witnessed his triumph at the polls, but never became the mistress of the White House. This marriage, with the facts and falsehoods connected with it, figured largely in all of Jackson's life, public and private. It was an issue in all campaigns in which he was a candidate, and its airing in the campaign in 1828 is believed to have contributed to Mrs. Jackson's death. Yet there was no fault in either of them, and calumny had never less excuse for its employment.

When Tennessee became a Territory, Andrew Jackson was appointed District Attorney, and in 1796 he was elected as the

one Representative of the Territory in the Lower House of Congress. In 1797 he was appointed United States Senator, but resigned this position the next year without having spoken a word in the Senate or having cast a vote. His Senatorial service ended, he was elected a Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee; but his business affairs having become involved, he resigned in 1804 and retired to his farm and country home, "The Hermitage." He was domestic in his tastes, and was never so happy as when in retirement, superintending his farm and enjoying the companionship of his wife.

But this blissful condition was not to continue. The British Embargo Act and the orders of council bore their fruit, and in 1812 war was declared against Great Britain. Andrew Jackson, who had previously been elected Major-General of Militia, tendered his services and that of the men of his division, and with them proceeded to Natchez. After remaining there for a length of time he was directed to dismiss his troops, which he refused to do until he had furnished them with the supplies necessary to see them home, when he marched them back to Nashville and discharged them. The roads were horrible, the weather severe, and the hardships of the journey great. These Jackson shared with his men, often walking through the mud while some sick soldier rode his horse; and it was on this journey that he was given his nickname. "He is as tough as hickory," said one. Then he began being spoken of as Hickory, and by an easy process of evolution this became Old Hickory.

The year following came the massacre of Fort Mimms, in which 400 of the 553 inmates of the fort were slaughtered and scalped by the Indians. The intelligence of this occurrence set the Southwest on fire, and General Jackson lost no time in calling his troops to rendezvous. The response was prompt and he marched forthwith into the Indian country. The events of this expedition can not be followed in detail. The troops were re-enforced by regulars. Supplies failed and the men mutinied. One morning the regulars stood

across the path of the volunteers, prepared to shoot them down under Jackson's order if they persisted in their purpose to leave camp and return home, for which purpose they were drawn up. They weakened and went back to camp. The next morning the conditions were reversed. The regulars formed to leave camp, and found the volunteers drawn up with orders to shoot them if they moved. It was the turn of the regulars to weaken, and they did. Thus the power of the will of one man. Yet with these forces Jackson won a series of brilliant victories over the Creeks and forever broke the power of the North American Indian.

His reputation was now national, and he was appointed Major-General of regulars and ordered to Mobile, which was threatened by the British. He defended it successfully, hanged six mutineers, marched upon Pensacola, though Florida was still a Spanish province, and invested it. Returning to Mobile, he proceeded to New Orleans, which it was well understood was to be attacked by the enemy, and proceeded to fortify it, drill his poorly-clad and ill-equipped troops, and put them in fighting condition. The enemy was at hand with a vastly superior land and naval force. Jackson attacked it on the 23d of December, 1814, and drove it back. Desultory fighting ensued and continued until the 8th of January, when the great engagement took place. The British were commanded in person by Sir Edward Packenham, who was killed in action; General Gibbs, second in command, was mortally wounded, and General Keane seriously. The American victory was complete. The British loss was 2,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the American loss seven killed and six wounded. It was one of the greatest triumphs of arms that the world has ever witnessed, made the more remarkable by the fact that it was won over the soldiers of Wellington, before whom Napoleon Bonaparte was afterwards compelled to bow his proud head, and by the further fact that Jackson was menaced by treachery within as well as by an open foe without. The population

of New Orleans was largely foreign, and much of it had small loyalty to the government of the United States. So marked was the disloyalty that one of Jackson's first acts was to declare martial law in the city and one of the next was to put a Judge in jail. The battle of New Orleans would have ended the war any way; but as a matter of fact, the Treaty of Ghent had been signed on the 24th of December preceding and peace had already been declared between the United States and Great Britain. So scant attention is given here to this most remarkable battle for the same reason that so little was given to the Creek War—because they are familiar history. Appointed commander-in-chief of the Southern division, Jackson retired again to "The Hermitage," but was called from it in 1817 to fight the Seminole War in Florida. He made quick work of this, and when Spain ceded Florida to the United States he was appointed Governor of the new province.

In 1824 General Jackson was a candidate for President, and carried a plurality of the popular vote, of the electoral vote, and of the States; but the election was thrown into the House, and John Quincy Adams was its choice. Jackson, however, was a candidate against him and defeated him in 1828. He was again elected in 1832, defeating Henry Clay, and in retiring in 1836 bequeathed the Presidency to Martin Van Buren, the premier of his administration.

From 1828 to 1836 inclusive was a history-making era; but unquestionably the events which signalized Jackson's administration were his fight against the Bank of the United States and that against nullification. The Bank of the United States was a gigantic institution, with a capital of \$35,000,000, headquarters in Philadelphia and twenty-five branches throughout the country. It was chartered for twenty years, and its charter was to expire in 1836. It desired to be rechartered. Jackson held it to be a monopoly, the life of which should be ended. Congress passed an act of recharter, which the President vetoed. The Senate passed

a resolution of censure upon him—a resolution introduced by Mr. Clay—for having done so, and he sent it a formal protest. This resolution of censure was afterwards expunged from the record as the result of the efforts of Mr. Benton. Meanwhile, Jackson had withdrawn the United States deposits from the bank and distributed them among various State banks, and it was doomed. This bank was a private corporation, but the government was a stockholder, and it was the government depository.

South Carolina had long been restive under the exactions of the tariff system. This spirit of irritation manifested itself definitely in 1832, when, under the guidance of Mr. Calhoun, there was held in Columbia a State convention which resolved that the operation of the tariff laws was so unjust as to release that State “from all its obligations under the compact formed between the several members of the Union.” Arms were procured and an army organized to resist the execution of the laws within the territory of the State. The President strengthened the fortifications in South Carolina in preparation for hostilities, and called the attention of Congress to the situation. The trouble was allayed by the passage of a compromise act which contemplated a complete change in the tariff system, and South Carolina was good until 1860. One of the very ablest papers that has ever proceeded from the White House was the nullification proclamation in which Jackson argued the case with the South Carolinians and warned them of the risks they ran. Another of his very notable state papers was his veto of the Mayesville turnpike road bill, evidencing as it did his respect for the doctrine of State’s rights and his hostility to the undertaking by the government of public works for which there was no constitutional warrant.

In the spring of 1837 General Jackson retired from the Presidency to “The Hermitage,” the popularity which he had so wonderfully sustained for twenty-five years undimmed, and on Sunday, the 8th of June, 1845, surrounded

by affectionate kinspeople and servants, and attended by the prayers of an affectionate and grateful country, he drew his final breath and closed the most tempestuous career yet known to the American continent.

What remains to be said of him? He was the nearest exponent of a pure democracy that has ever occupied the Presidential chair, and it is not to be wondered at that a great party honors his memory and remembers every year the 8th of January. A reference to partisan politics in this presence may be in violation of the proprieties, but it is quite necessary to the story to say that:

1. Andrew Jackson believed in personal liberty; that he conceived it to be the duty of the government to maintain the peace, to protect the citizen in his rights of life, liberty, and property, and after that to keep its hands off him and leave him to work out his own salvation.

2. He understood that in the Federal compact the States, while delegating some of their rights to the general government, had reserved some rights to themselves, and that these must on no account be trespassed upon.

3. He believed in a tariff for revenue only.

4. He believed in hard money, the gold and silver of the Constitution.

5. He opposed monopoly and special privileges.

6. He had undying faith in the masses of the people, and believed that the government should be administered for their benefit.

Who will be heard to say that all that is vital in Democracy to-day is not embraced in this enumeration?

Personally, our hero was a man to be admired and to be held in aversion. In public and in private life he was the soul of honor and the embodiment of honesty. His courage knew no fear. To his friends, as to the great public, he was faithful and true. There has been no more stalwart American. When it is said that he was as great a patriot as he was a General, all is said. When he took a position, and

about this he never delayed, doubt about its wisdom was instantly resolved in his mind into certainty; he knew he was right and never thought of wavering. Rancorous opposition raged; party leaders pleaded and cursed; the waves of popular clamor dashed at his feet and broke—he stood unmoved and unafraid, his cheek unblanched, with steady nerve. The world has never seen a finer example of physical and moral courage united in one man.

Wrong? Often. Faults? Many. And of his faults one of the greatest was intolerance. He brooked no opposition. The man who differed with him became by that act at once his enemy and a villain. He was always right. Everything else was wrong. No one could hold an opinion at variance with his own on any subject and be honest. He hated heartily, among many others, Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun. A combination of the forces of Clay and Adams, in 1824, had defeated him for the Presidency, and he never forgave either. Upon Mr. Adams' accession to the Presidency in 1825, he made Mr. Clay his Secretary of State, and Jackson, then a Senator, thus wrote to Col. R. M. Johnston:

"So, you see, the Judas of the West has closed the contract and will receive the thirty pieces of silver. Was there ever witnessed such a bare-faced corruption in any country before?"

And again to Col. George Wilson, on the same subject:

"This, to my mind, is the most open, daring corruption that has ever shown itself under our government, and if not checked by the people, will lead to open, direct bribery in less than thirty years."

And yet there never lived a purer man than Mr. Clay. Neither he nor Mr. Adams was capable of even thinking of the wrong of which Jackson charges in the most direct terms they were guilty.

It is not surprising, when we consider the indomitableness and aggressiveness of this spirit, which, right or wrong, never yielded itself, but before which every other will must bend; this character which presented the rare combination

of bully and bravery—it is not surprising that Andrew Jackson's life, from youth to old age, is a record of brawls. In some of the difficulties in which he was engaged—a few—he was not the aggressor, but his earthly career was one of strife and combat. His first duel was with Col. Waightstill Avery; the next with Charles Dickinson, in 1806. His street fight in Nashville, with the Benton brothers, Thomas H. and Jesse, in 1813, is a part of history. He carried Jesse Benton's bullet in his shoulder until he became an occupant of the White House, when it was extracted, and it is interesting that after that feud he and Colonel Benton were reunited and Benton stood his first friend in the Senate while Jackson was President. Then there were the difficulties with Sevier, Adair, Dinsmore, and Swan; and how relentlessly and unprovokedly he pursued Gen. Winfield Scott, in an effort to get a duel with him about nothing! No account is taken here of the affrays into which he was precipitated through the performance of his public duties, nor of the unwarranted attack upon him, while he was President, by Lieutenant Randolph. Let us pass over, likewise, the execution at Mobile in January, 1815, of the six militiamen for mutiny in the Creek campaign; the affairs of John Woods and of Arbuthnot and Ambrister at the close of the Seminole War. These two men were British subjects, traders with the Indians, and were charged with inciting them to violence. The testimony adduced against them has never satisfied the enlightened judgment of mankind that they were guilty, but Arbuthnot was sentenced to be hanged and Ambrister to be whipped and imprisoned. Jackson set aside the judgment of the court in Ambrister's case and hung both.

He was as cruel as the grave. An incident of the Dickinson duel in 1806 in proof of this: This occurrence grew out of a dispute about the terms of a horse race. Dickinson is alleged to have afterwards indulged in deprecatory remarks about Mrs. Jackson, and these reached the General's ears. There were fierce newspaper publications, and Jackson sent

a challenge, which Dickinson accepted. A point on Red River, in Kentucky, a day's ride from Nashville, was selected as the meeting-place. Dickinson was known as the best pistol-shot in Tennessee. He fired first, and the dust flew from the breast of Jackson's coat, but he stood unmoved. He took deliberate aim and pulled the trigger. The pistol stopped at half-cock. He cocked it again and fired. Dickinson, shot through and through below the ribs, reeled and fell into the arms of his friends. In a few hours the beautiful young wife whom he had kissed good-bye the morning before, telling her that he surely would return in two days, was a widow. "I should have killed him," said Jackson in later years, "if he had shot me through the brain." Jackson and his party had gone a hundred yards from the ground when his surgeon discovered that his shoes were full of blood, and asked him if he had been hit. He answered lightly that he believed so. "But," he added, "say nothing about it there," pointing to the house to which Dickinson had been conveyed. He had, indeed, been hit. The ball had raked the breast bone and broken one or two ribs; but Jackson said afterwards that he did not want Dickinson to have the gratification, before he died, of knowing that he had touched him! On a mantelpiece at "The Hermitage," in 1840, a visitor saw a pistol and picked it up. "That is the pistol," said Jackson, then 73 years old, in off-hand fashion, "with which I killed Mr. Dickinson." Not a qualm of conscience, not a shadow of remorse.

Reference has been made to the duel between Andrew Jackson and Waightstill Avery. This occurred in 1788, at Jonesboro, Tenn., where the two were attending court. In the conduct of a case in which they appeared as opposing counsel, Avery said something which provoked Jackson, who saw the case going against him, and he snatched the fly-leaf from a book and on it wrote a note which he at once delivered in person, following it the next day with a challenge. It has been my fortune to have had for a number of years

a photographic copy of this unique challenge, given me by a granddaughter of Colonel Avery, and it is worth while to introduce its language here. It runs thus:

Sir:

AUGUST 12, 1788.

When a man's feelings and charecter are injured he ougt to seek a speedy redress; you rec'd a few lines from me yesterday and undonbtedly you understand me. My charecter you have injured; and further you have Insulted me in the presence of a court and a large audience. I therefore call upon you as a gentleman to give me satisfaction for the same; and I further call upon you to give me an answer immediately without Equivocation and I hope you can do without dinner until the business is done. for it is consistant with the charecter of a gentleman when he injures a man to make a speedy reparation; therefore I hope you will not fail in meeting me this day; from yr. obt st.,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Coll. Avery.

P. S. this evening after court ajourned.

He was in a hurry, you see. This P. S. is written on the left-hand side of the sheet, and is to be read by turning it. Mr. Jackson had on his spelling clothes when he wrote this challenge, for only three words in it are misspelled; but it must be owned that the word "character" is misspelled three times, though the same way each time. Shots were exchanged, neither was hit, and Jackson announced himself satisfied. There is another story as to the cause of this duel, though the foregoing being that of the late Col. Isaac T. Avery, a son of one of the principals, is to be accepted as authentic. The other is that Jackson had but one law book, Bacon's Digest, which he carried in his saddle-bags, and read from frequently in his argument of cases. This book became a subject of jest by his brethren of the bar, and the story runs that at this particular court, Colonel Avery abstracted Bacon's Digest from the brown paper in which it was wrapped and replaced it with a piece of clear-rib side, of exactly the size and thickness of the book. Jackson had occasion, in this case, as usual, to refer to his Bacon, unwrapped

the brown paper and found a piece of meat. This angered him greatly, and rightly fixing the responsibility for this too practical joke upon Colonel Avery, he challenged him. It is almost a pity that this is not the true story. But it suggests what his best friends of that time admitted and his greatest admirers of to-day admit, that Jackson was not a student of his profession, and knew but little law. Indeed, he knew little of anything that is to be learned from books, and his best biographer says of him that "The Vicar of Wakefield" is perhaps the only book, excepting the Bible, that he ever read through. His literary taste as thus far manifested was certainly excellent, and it is to be deplored that he did not cultivate it. What he knew he knew not from reading, not from other men, but from within. Mr. Parton says he was controlled by two influences: resentment and gratitude; but his intuitions were remarkable and his judgment, when his prejudices or affections would allow it play, was almost unerring.

It is not known with certainty who furnished the language for Jackson's messages and other state papers, but whoever it may have been was a master. Jackson himself unquestionably furnished the thought, but another clothed it. We know this from the style of published letters which he certainly wrote with his own hand. His first inaugural address was a model. The ability of his nullification proclamation has been mentioned, and listen to this single sentence from his protest against the censure passed upon him by the Senate:

"In the history of conquerors and usurpers, never, in the fire of youth, nor in the vigor of manhood, could I find an attraction to allure me from the path of duty: and now I shall scarcely find an inducement to commence their career of ambition, when gray hairs and decaying frame, instead of inviting to toil and battle, call me to the contemplation of other worlds, where conquerors cease to be honored and usurpers expiate their crimes."

This is a lofty thought, arrayed in rich habiliments. Yet Jackson was not without the power to express himself on

paper with force and terseness. He wrote, for instance, with his hand, from "The Hermitage," three months before he died, to Commodore Elliott, a letter in which he declined the gift of a sarcophagus, which the Commodore had brought from Palestine, in which letter he said:

"With the warmest sensations that can inspire a grateful heart, I must decline accepting the honor intended to be bestowed. I can not consent that my mortal body shall be laid in a repository prepared for an emperor or a king. My republican feelings and principles forbid it; the simplicity of our system of government forbids it."

This evidences the man's Americanism. The sarcophagus concerning which the letter was written sits now on the left of the main entrance to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. Many of you have seen it.

But I am still discussing General Jackson's literary attainments, and it remains to be said that if he had been the most cultivated of men there could not have been between him and his wife that perfect congeniality and affection that all the world knows to have existed. One of his biographers says: "He appears always to have meant well, but his ignorance of law, history, politics, science, of everything which he who governs a country ought to know, was extreme." Mr. Trist remembers hearing a member of the General's family say that "General Jackson did not believe the world was round." And what would one of the cultivated women of Salisbury think of her husband, 58 years old, and having already been Solicitor, Representative in Congress, Senator, and Supreme Court Judge, standing around a cockpit, as he did in Nashville, perhaps without a collar and with his breeches in his boots, betting on a chicken and exclaiming frantically: "Hurrah! My Dominica! Ten dollars on my Dominica! Hurrah! My Bernadotte. Twenty dollars on my Bernadotte! Who'll take me up? Well done, my Bernadotte! My Bernadotte forever!"

No; this is not a man who hath bespoken a wife of the finest fiber or the largest culture. And yet, though she did

smoke a pipe, it is not true, as has been asserted, that Mrs. Rachel Jackson could not write, though a competent authority, who has seen nine of her letters, gives the assurance that her spelling was bad and her grammar not faultless. Let one of these letters be introduced here. In April, 1821, General Jackson, on the eve of assuming the Governorship of Florida, paid a visit by invitation to New Orleans to receive the honors and new expressions of gratitude of that city. He was accompanied by Rachel and by his adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jr., and his nephew, Andrew Jackson Donelson. From New Orleans Mrs. Jackson wrote to her friend, Mrs. Eliza Kingsley, at home:

CITY OF NEW ORLEANS, April 27, 1821.

My Dear Mrs. Kingsley:

We arrived safe in this port within eight days from Nashville. My health has somewhat improved in this warm climate. We had not a very pleasant passage thither, owing to so many passengers, nearly two hundred, more than half negroes; but how thankful we should be to our Heavenly Father. In so many instances have I had cause to praise His holy name. There is not an hour of our lives but we are exposed to danger on this river. O how can I describe to you my feelings when that sad and melancholy news reached us of the Robertson steamboat. O how dreadful! Poor Sally McConnell! She traveled far to find a watery grave. O Lord, Thy will be done in all Thy appointments.

I will give you a faint description of this place. It reminds me of those words in Revelation: "Great Babylon is come before me." Oh, the great wickedness, the idolatry of this place! unspeakable the riches and splendor.

We were met at the Natches and conducted to this place. The house and furniture is so splendid I can't pretend a description. The attention and honors paid to the General far excel a recital by my pen. They conducted him to the Grand Theatre; his box was decorated with elegant hangings. At his appearance the theatre rang with loud acclamations. *Vive Jackson!* Songs of praise were sung by ladies and in the midst they crowned him with a crown of laurel. The Lord has promised His humble followers a crown that fadeth not away; the present one has already withered, the leaves are falling off. St. Paul says, "All things shall work together for good to them who are in Christ Jesus." I know I never was so tried before, tempted, proved in all things. I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that I am His by covenant promise.

I want you to read the one hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm. There is not a day or night that I do not repeat it. Oh, for Zion! I wept when I saw this idolatry. Think not, my dear friend, that I am in the least unfaithful. It has a contrary effect.

I have written you this through the greatest bustle and confusion. The nobility have assembled to escort the General with a full band of martial music to review the troops. Remember me to your dear husband, Mrs. Foster, Mrs. McLemore, Mrs. Martin, and all my Christian friends. Say to my father in the gospel—Parson Blackburn—I shall always love him as such. Often I have blessed the Lord that I was permitted to be called under his ministry. Oh, farewell! Pray for your sister in a heathen land, far from my people and church. Present me to all friends. I scarcely can hear for confusion.

Yours with affection,

RACHEL JACKSON.

Rachel was saintly, but she was not smart nor sightly. Her complexion was swarthy, she was low of stature, and her figure suggested a sack of meal tied in the middle. A campaign cartoon represented her standing on a pedestal while one of her husband's friends tried to fasten a corset on her in a vain effort to give her a waist. Such was the brutality of the politics of that time. Indeed, it is doubtful if politics is any meaner in any one age than in any other, for John Quincy Adams, while President, had to meet the accusation that he was a Unitarian by proving that he had once given eighteen hundred dollars to a Presbyterian church of which he was a member and trustee; and controverted the charge that he had introduced a billiard table into the White House, and was therefore a spendthrift and aristocrat, by proving that his mother dried clothes in the East Room.

But such as Rachel was, she suited "Mr. Jackson," as she always called him, and the light of his life went out when she died. She had often importuned him to connect himself with the church, and he had promised her he would do so when he quit politics. In a current magazine Alfred Henry Lewis tells of President Jackson referring to this promise in conversation with him in 1832, and avowing his purpose to observe it. But, he said, "You know what a President must be, and what a Christian should be. No man can be

both; no man can be both." (I wonder, by way of parenthesis, if that is true?) Andrew Jackson, in this matter, as in all things, kept faith. In 1843, two years before his death, he professed religion, and died, in his 79th year, in the communion of the Presbyterian Church, crowning an illustrious and triumphant life with a triumphant death.

Mr. Parton, upon whom, among others, as the audience has perceived, I have drawn heavily for the materials of this sketch, expresses the belief that the elevation of Jackson to the Presidency was a mistake on the part of the people of the United States. He thinks that the good he effected was evanescent, while the evil was permanent, and his analysis is summed up in these words:

"Andrew Jackson, in fact, was a fighting man, and little more than a fighting man. It was not until a political controversy became personalized that his force and strength were elicited. He bated the Whig party much, but Henry Clay more; nullification much, but Calhoun more; the bank much, but Biddle more. He was a thorough-going human fighting-cock—very kind to the hens of his own farm-yard—giving them many a nice kernel of corn, but bristling up at the faintest crow of chanticleer on the other side of the road."

Very different the opinion of Mr. Bancroft, who, in Washington City, on the 27th of June, 1845, pronounced upon Andrew Jackson one of the noblest and most fervid eulogies in the language. Very different the opinion of Judge Jeremiah S. Black, one of the foremost lawyers of the age, who, speaking at Bedford, Pa., July 28, 1845, said:

"I can say with the most perfect conviction of its truth, that Andrew Jackson is entitled to stand higher on the list of public benefactors than any other man of his time—that he was a soldier unrivaled for skill and intrepidity, a patriot pure and faithful, and a statesman uniting the greatest and best qualities of a republican ruler."

And again:

"His fame lives and will live forever. America will never forget her defender, the people will never fail to think with gratitude of their truest friend, the human race will never cease to pay the homage of profound admiration to the benefactor of the world."

And yet again:

"He saw further into futurity than any man of his time, and his was the fearless honesty to tell his countrymen what he did see. He had a heart full of hope and manly trust in the people; and they were true to him because he was true to them. He pursued wise ends by fair means, and in doing so, he knew fear only by name. No abuse was too sacred nor no fraud too popular for the unsparing hand of his reform. He struck at the false god in his very temple and took his priests by the beard even between the horns of the altar."

But Jackson's best eulogy is that wrought in his own record. His underlying principles were set forth in his farewell address, in which he said this:

"Congress has no right under the Constitution to take money from the people, unless it is to execute some of the specific powers entrusted to the government."

And this:

"It is well known that there have always been those among us who wish to enlarge the powers of the general government; and experience would seem to indicate that there is a tendency on the part of this government to overstep the boundaries marked out for it by the Constitution. Its legitimate authority is abundantly sufficient for all the purposes for which it was created; and its powers being expressly enumerated, there can be no justification for claiming anything beyond them."

So much has been said and written of Andrew Jackson that there is nothing new to say. It is but a repetition of what all men know to say that he shed such luster as no man before him had upon American arms; that he broke the power of the greatest monopoly that the then young Republic had seen; that he discharged the public debt, and that he breathed new life into the principles enunciated by Jefferson, and wrote them on the hearts of the people. His infirmities of temper and of character are parts of the history of his life, but criticism is hushed in the memory of his greatness. And on this anniversary of the day which gave his name a place among the immortals, we all do bow our heads and acknowledge him one of—

"The dead but sceptered sovereigns who still rule
Our spirits from their urns."

THOMAS SETTLE.*

WILLIAM P. BYNUM, JR.

The Supreme Court of North Carolina, from its organization nearly ninety years ago, has justly held the respect and confidence of the people more steadfastly than any other branch of the State Government. This is due not only to its power and its exalted function as the head of one of the great departments of government established by the Constitution, but in an especial sense to the character and achievements of the thirty-eight Judges who during that period have been members of this Court. Coming from the different walks of life, with varied talents and experience, they have performed the duties of their office with that uniform wisdom and fidelity which have endeared them to the State and justly entitled them to be numbered among the great builders and interpreters of our law. Their splendid services need not be recounted here. The record and result of their labors may be read in the decisions of this Court, the judicial chronicles of their time, and their names will be revered as long as the profession which they ennobled shall endure.

What stranger, even, entering this hall and beholding the faces which adorn its walls, does not realize that he is in the presence of extraordinary men? He finds not here the stern countenance, the severe eye, of the typical Judge of old; but a company of gentlemen whose dignified and scholarly, yet mild, benignant features show clearly the warm heart, the broad, charitable spirit of just, magnanimous men—Judges who were not feared, but loved.

Into this splendid company of the dead, and their worthy successors, the living, the portrait of Thomas Settle to-day is brought by his devoted children and presented to the Court that it may take its place in this stately gallery of our Judges.

* Address presenting the portrait of Thomas Settle to the Supreme Court, November 7, 1905.

Elevated to the bench at the age of thirty-seven, the youngest Judge that ever sat in this Court, his term of service altogether was seven years, and his qualities of mind and heart were such as to endear him throughout not only to his associates on the bench, but to the bar generally, and won for him the admiration and affection of all who knew him.

The family to which he belonged is of pure English origin. Near the middle of the eighteenth century his great-grandfather, Josiah Settle, came from England and established a home in the borders of this State in the beautiful region along the foothills of the Blue Ridge in what is now Rockingham County. He was one of a colony of men who, as Bancroft says, came "from civilized life and scattered among forests—hermits with wives and children, resting upon the bosom of Nature in perfect harmony with the wilderness of their gentle clime. Careless of religious sects or unmolested by oppressive laws, they enjoyed liberty of conscience and personal independence, freedom of the forest and of the river. The children of Nature listened to the inspirations of Nature. They desired no greater happiness than they enjoyed."

The scenery, soil, and climate of that locality were all that could be desired by the early emigrant, and there among the hills of the Dan came many whose descendants have made honorable records in the service of the State. In that favored region the Settle family lived for more than a hundred years—first Josiah, then David, then Thomas, father of him of whom I speak, who was born in Rockingham, March 9, 1789. The family even in those days possessed ample means and the graces and comforts of life. Thomas Settle, the elder, was liberally educated and by nature generously endowed. He became a lawyer and was successful in his practice. In 1816, at the age of twenty-seven, he was elected a member of the House of Commons, where he served with dignity and ability. The next year he was the Whig candidate for Congress in the district composed of Caswell, Rockingham, Guilford, and Stokes, and was elected, succeeding Bartlett Yancey, Demo-

crat, as the representative of that district in the Fifteenth Congress. At the expiration of his term he was re-elected and served until 1821, when he declined re-election, and was succeeded by Romulus M. Saunders.

Mr. Settle then returned to the practice of his profession and to the ease and dignity of a retired life, which he much preferred. But in 1826 he was again called to the public service and for three successive years was a member of the House of Commons, of which, from a number of able Whigs, he was chosen Speaker at the session of 1828. In the General Assembly and among the people considerable political excitement then prevailed. It was the year of General Jackson's first election to the Presidency and marked the beginning of a new era in the political history of the country. The hostile feeling generally prevalent against the Bank of the United States showed itself here also against the banks of the State. They were the State Bank of North Carolina, the Bank of New Bern, and the Bank of Cape Fear. Judge Ruffin was president of the first and William Gaston of the second. It was claimed that the stock of these banks had not been paid for as required by their charters; that they had issued more bills or notes than they were authorized to issue and had refused to pay them in specie on demand; that their debts exceeded the amount limited by law; that they had dealt and traded in articles other than those authorized; had charged usurious interest, bought and speculated upon their own paper, and were in the habit of exacting exorbitant charges as conditions of discounting. By these and other practises it was alleged that they had drawn from the people a profit of about four million dollars on their stock, three-fourths of which, it was claimed, had been issued in a fictitious and fraudulent manner; and that having received from the people this sum, exceeding four times the amount of actual capital paid into the banks according to law, they still held the notes of the people for more than five million dollars, about four times the amount of the circulating medium of the State.

Thus it was claimed that it was in the power of these banks to extinguish absolutely the currency of the State and still hold a debt against the people of about four million dollars. And this, it was urged, the banks were threatening to do; that having for years continued by illegal practises to draw from the people the profits of their labor, thus reducing them to such an impoverished condition that they could no longer pay their exorbitant demands, these grasping institutions, their accusers declared, were now preparing to extort from the people their actual means of subsistence. By reason of these practises it was insisted that the banks had forfeited the powers and privileges granted in their charters.

The subject was discussed in the Governor's message and a joint select committee of eighteen was raised, to whom the whole matter was referred. Robert Potter of Granville was chairman. Mr. Gaston was named a member of the committee, but declined to serve on account of his connection with one of the banks under investigation. Other prominent members were David L. Swain of Buncombe, James H. Ruffin of Caswell, George E. Spruill of Halifax, and George C. Mendenhall of Guilford. A majority of the committee, including the members named, examined the banks and their officers and recommended merely the passage of a law imposing a penalty on all banks of the State which after a certain day refused to pay specie on demand for their notes. The minority, however, led by Potter, reported a resolution, followed by a bill, declaring that the banks had violated and forfeited their charters and directing the Attorney-General forthwith to institute a judicial inquiry into their conduct and to prosecute such inquiry by writ of *quo warranto* or other legal process. The bill was a drastic measure virtually confiscating the property of the banks, providing for the appointment of commissioners or receivers to wind up their affairs and for the arrest and prosecution of their officers before the Supreme Court. The debate on the bill was able and acrimonious. Its leading advocates were William J. Alexander of Mecklen-

burg, Charles Fisher of Salisbury, and Jesse A. Bynum of Halifax. Potter himself, the author of the bill, made many speeches in support of it. The debate in opposition was opened with a dignified, convincing argument by Mr. Gaston, who was followed by George E. Spruill, David L. Swain, H. C. Jones of Rowan, and Frederick Nash of Orange, on the same side. The question on the third reading was "loudly called for" and being taken by *ayes* and *noes*, fifty-nine votes were cast for the bill and fifty-eight against it. The Speaker, Mr. Settle, was thus placed in a situation of great responsibility, but did not seek to evade it. Declaring his belief that the bill should not pass, he promptly placed his vote with those of the minority, and thus the bill was lost.

The sequel proved that the Speaker was right. The attack on the banks was due largely to their suspension of specie payments, a condition which for several years after the War of 1812 prevailed in all banks south of New York. To have passed the bill would have destroyed the banks, and this in turn would have destroyed public confidence and resulted surely in financial disaster and distress.

The three succeeding years were spent by Mr. Settle at his home in Rockingham in the practise of his profession and in attending to his farming interests, which were extensive. He was never fond of the animosities of active political life, and resolutely rejected all solicitations looking to further political preferment. He was soon called, however, to a service more congenial to his disposition and tastes. In 1832 he was elected Judge of the Superior Courts of Law and Equity and spent nearly all the remainder of his life in that office, resigning in 1857, the year of his death, after twenty-five years of faithful, efficient service.

Judge Settle was a man of fine sense, simple manners, and dignified, courtly bearing. He was regarded as an upright, able, conscientious lawyer, a wise, patient, urbane Judge, and a lovable Christian gentleman. A correct estimate of his life and character may be derived from its influence on those

around him. Among his law students were Alfred M. Seales and John M. Morehead, both afterwards Governors of the State, the one a brave General, the other the great constructive statesman of North Carolina.

Like the Moreheads, Judge Settle was an old-line Whig with free-soil proclivities. He believed that slavery was wrong and should be abolished by gradual emancipation under proper regulations and with fair compensation provided by law—the course so earnestly urged by Mr. Lincoln in 1862.

During his long service on the bench he tried many important cases and always with the utmost patience and impartiality. "Four things," said Socrates, "belong to a Judge: to hear courteously, to answer wisely, to consider soberly, and to decide impartially." These were Judge Settle's characteristics.

From 1826 to his death he was a trustee of the University of this State, where his sons were educated. He was a devoted member of the Baptist Church and for many years a trustee of Wake Forest College. Dying at the age of sixty-eight, half of his entire life was spent in the public service, and not a word of calumny was ever uttered against his name.

Judge Settle was fortunate in his marriage. Henrietta Graves, who became his wife, belonged to a family eminent for its sturdy moral and intellectual qualities. Her father, Azariah Graves, was a prominent citizen of Caswell County, which for seven consecutive years he represented in the State Senate. Her brother, Calvin Graves, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1835 and later a member of the House of Commons for three years and of the Senate for two, where by his courageous action as Speaker the bill for the construction of the North Carolina Railroad, a measure of the utmost importance for the internal improvement and development of the State, finally became a law.

Thomas Settle and Henrietta Graves were rich enough and happy enough in the possession of their children. Married September 21, 1820, they spent their lives in the country at

their hospitable home in Rockingham County. Two sons and five daughters constituted the family. Two of the daughters, Elizabeth and Rebecca, died in girlhood; one, Henrietta, became the wife of David S. Reid, afterwards Governor of the State and one of its Senators in Congress; another, Caroline, married Hugh Reid, Esquire, brother of the Governor and a highly useful citizen of Rockingham; and the third, Fannie, married Col. J. W. Covington, a gentleman of wealth and prominence from Richmond County, and after his death the Honorable Oliver H. Dockery, of this State. All except Mrs. David S. Reid and the youngest child, Col. David Settle of Wentworth, are dead.

The devotion of these parents to their children was beautiful. I have read some of the letters of the father and mother to their sons—letters full of wise counsel, unselfish devotion, and the tenderest solicitude for their proper guidance and protection. They were justly proud of their family and its connections, and seldom has one less numerous possessed more interesting characters. Among its members and immediate connections were two United States Senators, four members of the House of Representatives, three Judges, a Governor of the State, a formidable candidate for the Presidency, and many others of distinguished virtues and ability.

Thomas Settle, the second of that name and fourth child of Thomas Settle and Henrietta Graves, was born in Rockingham County, January 23, 1831. He received his academic training at the excellent school of Samuel Smith near Madison. He was educated at the University, where he was graduated with distinction in 1850 at the age of nineteen. There he devoted himself with much avidity to general reading and the exercises of his literary society, the Dialectic, and was less attentive to Latin, Greek, and mathematics, the chief studies of that day. Hence he was a capital debater and a popular society leader, and was honored with all the offices from President down. In his graduating address he made a marked impression. His ideas were clear, his manner ani-

mated and forcible, his appearance handsome, gracious, and commanding. The year of his graduation David S. Reid, his brother-in-law, was elected Governor of the State and the young graduate made his entrance into political life as Private Secretary to the Governor. Here he formed the acquaintance of many eminent men who were pleased by his courtesy and affability and whose example stimulated his ambition for an honorable career.

He was then in his twenty-first year. His early associations had fostered a love of politics. The honorable record of his father in Congress, in the Legislature, and on the bench; the popularity of Governor Reid, then in the full tide of his phenomenal career; his own inclinations and surroundings, as well as the very spirit of the times, strengthened his preference for active participation in the political struggles and contentions of the time. The war with Mexico had lately added to the public domain a large territory north and south of the line fixed by the Missouri Compromise, and thus revived more bitterly than ever the question of the extension or the restriction of slavery. The Whig party, to which his father belonged, had won its last victory in the election of General Taylor three years before and was already showing signs of early disintegration. Free-soil Whigs and Free-soil Democrats already had their representatives in Congress voicing the aggressive purposes of a new and more radical party. The Democrats of the South were maintaining the constitutional right to take slaves, as any other property, into the territories and to be protected therein by the laws of Congress—a doctrine later affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. The Free-soil Whigs and Democrats of the North, on the other hand, declared the common domain to be devoted to justice and liberty, not only by the Constitution, but by a law higher than the Constitution, and avowed their conviction that slavery must give way "to the salutary instructions of economy and to the refining influences of humanity," while the Abolitionists, with their bitter contempt for the compro-

mises of Congress and the Constitution and their ruthless programme of abolition with or without constitutional warrant, were ready for a separation from the South should abolition prove impossible. To allay these fierce antagonisms, and if possible save from disruption his party and the country, Henry Clay had come forward the year before, with the dignity of age upon him, to urge measures of compromise. Disheartened at the hopeless outlook, but abating nothing of his conviction that the Federal Government was supreme and must be obeyed, he had put away his old-time imperiousness and pleaded as he had never pleaded before for mutual accommodation and agreement. Mr. Webster slackened a little in his constitutional convictions and also urged compromise and concession at the risk of his own political existence. Mr. Seward for the Free-soil Whigs and Mr. Chase for the Free-soil Democrats repudiated all compromise and denied the possibility of any equilibrium between the sections. The President himself opposed the compromise and exerted the influence of the administration against it. But the President was removed by death and the measures as urged by the committee of Congress were passed and approved by his friendly successor. California was admitted as a free State: Utah and New Mexico, including all the remainder of the Mexican cession, were organized as territories without restriction as to slavery; the boundary-line of Texas was adjusted; a stringent fugitive slave law was enacted and the buying and selling of slaves in the District of Columbia was prohibited. The first and fifth of these enactments were to satisfy the North; the second and fourth were to pacify the South. They were passed chiefly by Southern votes and framed to meet the demands of Southern men and to obviate every reasonable Southern objection. Free-soilers and many Whigs of the North opposed them on the ground that they were a surrender to the slave power; extreme Democrats of the South opposed them because they believed them a waiver of the right

to take slaves into the new territories and be protected in their ownership as of any other property.

In the main, however, both of the great political parties loyally supported the compromise and seemed to believe that the slavery question had been settled by it. Their platforms of 1852 contained strong assertions of their complete acceptance of those measures and their determination to take them as a final settlement of the struggle between the slave and the free States. Thousands of Whigs in the North, alienated by the efforts of the party thus to ignore the great question of slavery and its failure to take up boldly the cause of liberty, left its ranks or refused to vote; while many of its Southern members, especially the younger ones, dissatisfied or repelled by its wavering policy, showed little interest for its success. Before election day Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster, its two great leaders and the champions of the compromise, had passed away and the party received its death-blow in the election of Franklin Pierce.

In this situation it was not unnatural that Mr. Settle, after reaching his majority in 1852, should have departed from the political faith of his father and like many Southern young men of that day allied himself with the Democratic party. A controlling reason, also, was his belief in free suffrage, the popular Democratic doctrine on which his kinsman, Governor Reid, had recently been elected. Two years later he received his license to practice law. He had studied under Judge Pearson at Richmond Hill, and it was during those days that he first met Mary Glenn, who afterwards became his wife. The same year his love of debate and the allurements of political life led him to look with favor upon the solicitations of his party friends to become a candidate for the House of Commons from Rockingham County. His popularity assured his election, and for five successive years, 1854 to 1859, he was an accomplished member of that body, and the latter year was chosen its Speaker. His service in the Legislature

increased his knowledge and his love of political affairs and gave him the reputation of an astute political manager and debater. Accordingly, in 1856 he was placed on the National Democratic ticket as elector for his district and cast the electoral vote of the State for Mr. Buchanan.

A Democrat, born and reared in the South, firm in his advocacy of Southern rights, Mr. Settle was an ardent supporter of the Constitution, a staunch believer in the Union, and opposed to secession in any form so long as the Constitution and the laws enacted by its authority could be upheld and obeyed. Consequently, when later the expediency of withdrawing from the Union became involved in the Presidential contest of 1860, he wisely advocated the election of Mr. Douglas as the surest way to forestall that calamity.

But the controversy between the North and the South could not be settled by the ballot. The cause of it was too deep-seated to be reached by that peaceful remedy. It remained one of those unsettled questions which have no pity for the repose of nations. Mr. Lincoln's election alarmed and angered the South. Despite his majority in the electoral college, he had received little more than one-third of the votes cast by the people, and they came entirely from the Northern States. His triumphant party was led by many whom the South regarded as her bitter enemies as well as deliberate violators of the Constitution and the laws of Congress which had been enacted to protect the rights of Southern men. Those laws, though upheld by the Supreme Court, were frequently disregarded in the North. The Court itself was ridiculed and denounced by Northern abolitionists and Republicans, and the Constitution—the supreme law of the land—was held to be binding and entitled to respect only when it conformed to their ideas of justice and right. One of the prime objects of the government established by our forefathers had been to insure domestic tranquillity. That condition had not prevailed in the United States for many years, and the prospect was now no better. In spite, therefore, of their love for

the Union and its Constitution which the people of the South had shown from the beginning, many of them sincerely believed and were determined that, rather than suffer the imposition, the humiliation of remaining in a government whose Constitution and laws were disobeyed at will, they would withdraw from it and form a government of their own. The question with them was not so much the retention of their property in the slave: they were tired of Northern criticism and, as they conceived, of Northern insult and wrong. The accusation of moral guilt in the matter of slavery had stung them most intolerably. "They knew," says Woodrow Wilson in his *History of the American People*, "with what motives and principles they administered slavery, and felt to the quick the deep injustice of imputing to them pleasure or passion or brutal pride of mastery in maintaining their hold upon the slaves. Many a thoughtful man amongst them saw with keen disquietude how like an incubus slavery lay upon the South; how it demoralized masters who were weak, burdened masters who were strong, and brought upon all alike enormous, hopeless economic loss. * * * That very fact, their very consciousness that they exercised a good conscience in these matters, made them the more keenly sensitive to the bitter attacks made upon them at the North, the more determined now to assert themselves, though it were by revolution, when they saw a party whose chief tenet seemed to be the iniquity of the South about to take possession of the Federal Government. Probably not more than one white man out of every five in the South was a slaveholder; not more than half had even the use or direction of slaves. Hundreds of the merchants, lawyers, physicians, and ministers, who were the natural ruling spirits of the towns, owned none. But the men who were slave-owners were the masters of politics and of society. Their sensibilities were for all practical purposes the sensibilities of the South; and for close upon forty years now it had seemed as if at every turn of the country's history these sensibilities must be put upon the rack. The Missouri

Compromise of 1820 had treated the institution of slavery, which they maintained, as an infection to be shut out by a line as if of quarantine. The alarming insurrection of the slaves of southeastern Virginia under Nat Turner in 1831; the English Act of Emancipation and the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833; the slow and dangerous Seminole War, which dragged from 1832 to 1839, and was as much a war to destroy the easy refuge of runaway and marauding negroes in Florida as to bring the Indians, their confederates, to submission; the critical Texas question; the Mexican War, and the debatable Wilmot Proviso; the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the 'free-soil' campaign, the break-up of the Whigs and the rise and triumph of the Republicans: it had been a culminating series of events whose wounds and perplexities were always for the South. Southerners might have looked upon the election of Mr. Lincoln as only a casual party defeat, to be outlived and reversed, had it not come like a dramatic *dénouement* at the end of the series. As it was, it seemed the last, intolerable step in their humiliation."

South Carolina took the first step, in December following the election, and Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana followed in the order named. By the 18th of February, 1861, a Confederate Government had been formed at Montgomery and its President and Vice-President inaugurated amid scenes of the wildest enthusiasm. April 12th Fort Sumter was bombarded and in two days it surrendered. The President of the United States issued his call for troops and the President of the Confederate States prepared to meet them. North Carolina, Virginia, Arkansas, and Tennessee still remained in the Union, but their Governors refused to respond to Mr. Lincoln's call, holding that a State had the right to withdraw from the Union and could not rightfully be compelled to return. Virginia yielded to her Southern sympathies in April, Arkansas early in May, and both promptly joined the Confederacy, leaving North Carolina and Tennessee still in the Union and still hoping that the united efforts of

patriotic men in every part of the Nation might avert the dangers threatening it and again unite the States in a common bond of fraternal and perpetual union.

The decisive action of South Carolina in withdrawing from the Union in December and the certainty that the States south of her would follow, at once disclosed to the people of North Carolina that they must decide the momentous question whether this State would go with those of the South or remain with those of the North. This perilous condition, in the judgment of the General Assembly then in session, demanded a convention of the people to effect, if possible, as it declared, "an honorable adjustment of existing difficulties whereby the Federal Union was endangered or otherwise to determine what action would best preserve the honor and promote the interests of North Carolina." Accordingly an act was passed January 1, 1861, requiring the Governor to cause an election to be held in the several counties of the State February 28 following, to determine whether such convention should assemble and at the same time to choose one hundred and twenty delegates who should compose its membership. The real question was not so much the right of secession: that had time and again been conceded North and South. It was rather the expediency of withdrawing from the Union so long as there was hope of remaining in it with peace and honor. Like Morehead, Graham, Badger, Ruffin, Gilmer, and others in this State, and Stephens, Johnson, and Hill of Georgia, Mr. Settle believed that secession at that time was premature; that our troubles might and should be settled within the Union rather than out of it. As a Union Democrat he therefore became a candidate in Rockingham against the convention, and after a spirited campaign was elected over his opponent, Mr. A. M. Scales, who, like Toombs and Davis, favored secession. But the people by a narrow majority of 651 (the exact vote being 46,672 to 47,323) decided against the convention, and the delegates elected were never called upon to assemble. Thus the people of North Carolina refused even

to consider the question of withdrawing from the Union, although seven of her sister States had already decided to leave it.

But though still in the Union, the State was rapidly assuming a military status. Organized companies of militia were called out and new companies formed from volunteers and sent to garrison our forts and protect our coasts from invasion. The secession of Virginia in April left North Carolina hemmed in between the two opposing governments and, after the secession of Arkansas, the only Southern State, save Tennessee, remaining in the Union. April 27, 1861, the President of the United States declared the ports of Virginia and North Carolina blockaded, and this the Supreme Court subsequently held, in the case of the *Protector*, was legally the beginning of the war in those States. The General Assembly, still in session, by an act concurred in by two-thirds of the members of each House, on the first day of May peremptorily required the Governor to call an election to be held on the thirteenth of that month for delegates to a convention of the people of the State to be assembled on the twentieth. Nothing whatever was said in the act as to the purpose or powers of the convention, but these were well understood. The election was held, the delegates chosen, and the convention met in the city of Raleigh May 20, 1861, and immediately repealed, rescinded, and abrogated the ordinance adopted by North Carolina in the Convention of 1789, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified and adopted, and also all acts of the General Assembly ratifying and adopting amendments to that Constitution, dissolved the union subsisting between this State and the other States under the title of the United States of America and declared the State of North Carolina in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State. On the same day the convention ratified the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States; and thus North Carolina, next to the

last of the original States to enter the Union, was the last of them to leave it.

The popularity of Mr. Settle during this period was strikingly illustrated by the fact that, though a Union man and opposed to Mr. Breckinridge's election to the Presidency, he was elected early in 1861 Solicitor of the Fourth Judicial Circuit by a Legislature the majority of whose members were Breckinridge Democrats. On Monday, the twelfth day of April, he was prosecuting for the State at Danbury in Stokes County, Judge Howard presiding. He joined James Madison Leach, a Union Whig, in a request for the use of the court-room for political speaking during the noon recess. The request was granted, and between Mr. Settle, Mr. Leach, and the Honorable John A. Gilmer, as Unionists, on the one side, and Mr. A. M. Scales and Mr. Robert McLean, as Secessionists, on the other, there followed a political debate of intense feeling and marked ability. In a few days the Court adjourned and the Judge and Solicitor left for the latter's home in Rockingham—the one as strong for immediate secession as the other was against it. On the way, as they approached Madison, a strong Union town, they discerned a flag floating from a building in the village. They saw at once it was not the flag of the Union. Several persons were riding toward them reading newspapers. Hailing one of them, the Solicitor inquired what was the matter. Promptly the answer came: "Haven't you heard the news? Sumter has been attacked. President Lincoln has called for 75,000 troops. Everybody is for war. Governor Reid is speaking at Madison and volunteers are enlisting." The Solicitor turned to the Judge and exclaimed: "They are right! I must go to Madison and go with them!" They turned out of their way and drove to the village. As they approached they heard the voice of Governor Reid speaking in the upper room of a building while a large crowd was gathered in and around it. The Solicitor sprang up and, waving his hand aloft, declared that they were right, and leaping from the

buggy mounted a doorstep and poured forth a passionate appeal for every man to stand by the South.

"We then went on to his home," says the Judge, "and on the way he declared he must resign his office and go into the war. I pressed him not to do so until the end of the circuit, but he would listen to no delay, insisting that he must resign, and recommending his successor. The next Monday at Rockingham soon after Court met, the sound of fife and drum was heard from several directions and soon there marched into Wentworth one hundred and fifty volunteers, and at recess I noticed both Scales and Settle in the ranks. Two companies were formed and Scales was elected captain of one and Settle of the other."

"In a week or two," continues the Judge, "I returned to Greensboro. As I was passing the residence of the Honorable John A. Gilmer he called to me, and, coming out to the buggy, said with deep emotion: "On my return home I found that at the very hour I was speaking in Danbury my son was donning his uniform and hastening away to Fort Macon. We are all one now."

Leach, too, had "heard the news" and had already raised a company of one hundred chosen men from Davidson, of whom he had likewise been elected captain. Such was the effect upon the Union men of the South of the attack on Fort Sumter and the call of President Lincoln for troops!

Mr. Settle and Mr. Scales, late antagonists on the stump, were now enlisted as comrades in a common cause and as captains were placed with their respective companies in the Third, afterward the Thirteenth, Regiment of North Carolina troops, which earned a proud record in the subsequent struggle. The term of their enlistment was twelve months, and on its expiration Mr. Settle returned to his home and was again elected Solicitor of his district and held that office until his election to the Reconstruction Convention of 1865, winning for himself the reputation of an able lawyer and a fair, impartial officer.

Sixty days after General Lee's surrender there was not a Confederate soldier in arms. They had fought to the point of exhaustion, and when they gave their parole the war indeed was over. Throughout the Confederacy the surrender was complete. The Southern people were anxious to renew their allegiance to the United States and submit to its authority. There was no law on the statute-book providing a way for their return to the Union. They could not resume their old relations of their own accord; their State governments had been destroyed or abandoned, and they were compelled to look to Washington for the manner, the terms, and conditions of their restoration. And there the trouble arose.

On May 29, 1865, President Johnson appointed William W. Holden Provisional Governor of North Carolina and required him "at the earliest practicable period to prescribe such rules and regulations as might be necessary and proper for convening a convention composed of delegates to be chosen by that portion of the people of the State who were loyal to the United States, for the purpose of *altering* or *amending* its Constitution; and with authority to exercise, within the limits of the State, all the powers necessary and proper to enable the loyal people of the State to restore it to its constitutional relations to the Federal Government."

In the election of delegates to the convention no person was to be a qualified elector or eligible as a member unless he had previously taken the oath of amnesty set forth in the President's proclamation and was a qualified voter under the Constitution and laws of the State in force immediately before the 20th day of May, 1861. The President further directed that the convention or the Legislature that might thereafter assemble should prescribe the qualifications of electors and the eligibility of persons to hold office under the Constitution and laws of the State—"a power," said he, "the people of the several States composing the Federal Union have rightfully exercised from the origin of the government to the present time."

The heads of the several departments of the National Government were directed to put in force in North Carolina all laws of the United States the administration of which belonged to their respective departments; and in making appointments they were directed to give preference to qualified loyal persons residing within the State. The United States Judge for the district in which North Carolina was included was directed to hold courts within the State in accordance with the provisions of the act of Congress, and the Attorney-General was instructed to enforce the administration of justice in the State in all matters within the cognizance and jurisdiction of the Federal courts. Mr. Seward accompanied the order with a circular directing that the prescribed oath might be taken and subscribed before any commissioned officer, civil, military, or naval, in the service of the United States, or any civil or military officer of the State who by the laws thereof might be qualified for administering oaths.

In performance of the duty imposed by the order of his appointment Governor Holden, on August 8, 1865, ordered an election to be held on the twenty-first day of September for delegates to a convention to assemble in Raleigh on the second day of October following, for the purpose specified in the order of the President appointing him. The number of delegates to be chosen was one hundred and twenty. Mr. Settle was elected from Rockingham.

The first Southern Reconstruction assemblies were severely criticised and condemned by the North. Thaddens Stevens spoke of them at the time as an "aggregation of whitewashed rebels who, without any legal authority, have assembled in the capitols of the late rebel States and simulated legislative bodies." And Mr. Blaine, in his *Twenty Years of Congress*, refers to them as "an assemblage of oligarchs * * * little else than consulting bodies of Confederate officers under the rank of Brigadier-General, actually sitting throughout their deliberations in the uniforms of the rebel service and

apparently dictating to the government of the Union the grounds on which they would consent to resume representation in the National Congress"; and their official acts, he asserts, were "inspired by a spirit of apparently irreconcilable hatred of the Union," and were intended practically to re-enslave the negro. Passing by the question of the justice of these criticisms, as they relate to the conventions and Legislatures of other Southern States, let us see whether or not they are justly applicable to those of North Carolina.

The first Reconstruction Convention of North Carolina was composed of men who were nearly all old-line Whigs and Union Democrats originally opposed to secession. Of its members nine, namely, Giles Mebane of Alamance, E. J. Warren of Beaufort, D. D. Ferebee of Camden, Bedford Brown of Caswell, George Howard of Edgecombe, R. P. Dick of Guilford, W. A. Smith of Johnston, John Berry of Orange, and A. H. Joyce of Stokes, had been members of the Secession Convention of 1861. Bedford Brown had been a United States Senator, and two other members, John Pool and Thomas J. Jarvis, afterwards became United States Senators from this State; six, Nathaniel Boyden, Gen. Alfred Dockery, Alexander H. Jones, I. G. Lash, Edwin G. Reade, and W. A. Smith, had been or were afterwards members of Congress from this State; three, C. C. Clarke, Jesse R. Stubbs, and Samuel H. Walkup, were elected members of the Thirty-ninth Congress, but were not allowed to take their seats; two, Tod R. Caldwell and Thomas J. Jarvis, were afterwards Governors of the State; one, M. E. Manly, had been a Justice of this Court, and seven others, Boyden, Bynum, Dick, Faircloth, Furches, Reade, and Settle, became Justices of this Court, two of whom, Faircloth and Furches, were Chief Justices; three, Brooks, Dick, and Settle, became United States District Judges; six, Buxton, Furches, Gilliam, Howard, Warren, and McCoy, had been or afterwards became Judges of the Superior Courts of North Carolina. In addition to these, the convention numbered

among its members such eminent lawyers as B. F. Moore of Wake, Samuel F. Phillips of Orange, William A. Wright of New Hanover, Patrick H. Winston of Franklin, D. H. Starbuck of Forsyth, William Eaton, Jr., of Warren, Neill McKay of Cumberland, R. S. Donnell of Beaufort, Edward Conigland of Halifax, Neal A. McLean of Robeson, R. H. Winburne of Chowan, W. A. Allen of Duplin, and A. H. Joyce of Stokes; and such prominent professional and business men as E. M. Stevenson of Alexander, Lewis Thompson of Bertie, D. F. Caldwell of Guilford, J. R. Love of Jackson, Dr. Eugene Grissom of Granville, Dr. William Sloan of Gaston, Montford McGehee of Person, Daniel L. Russell, Sr., of Brunswick, Giles Mebane of Alamance, L. L. Polk of Anson, R. L. Patterson of Caldwell, Thomas I. Faison of Sampson, J. S. Spencer of Montgomery, James McCorkle of Stanly, and others who were eminent and useful citizens of the State.

The convention met in the hall of the House of Commons in Raleigh at noon October 2, 1865, and its first act was to have administered to its members the oath to support the Constitution of the United States and to direct the flag of the Nation to be raised over the capitol during the deliberations of the convention. Edwin G. Reade was unanimously elected President. One paragraph in his address on assuming the chair showed the spirit and sentiment of the convention. "Fellow-citizens," said he, "*we are going home.* Let painful reflections upon our late separation and pleasant memories of our early union quicken our footsteps toward the old mansion, that we may grasp hard again the hand of friendship which stands at the door, and sheltered by the old homestead which was built upon a rock and has weathered the storm, enjoy together the long, bright future which awaits us."

The Provisional Governor quoted this paragraph approvingly in his message, which likewise was conciliatory in tone and temper. Mr. Settle was among the younger mem-

bers, but was active in the discussion of all matters of public interest that came before the convention. He was chairman of the committee on the Abolition of Slavery and the author of the ordinance forever abolishing slavery in this State. He was also chairman of the special committee on the State Debt and a member of other important committees of the convention. He was described at that time by a Northern spectator as "a man about six feet in height, 190 pounds in weight, and 34 years of age; erect, broad-shouldered, with full face, firm mouth, bronzed and rosy cheeks, large brown eyes, dark-brown hair and whiskers. He speaks with force and unmistakable emphasis, gesticulates with a full sweep from the shoulder, and adds a sincere love of the Union to a hearty hatred of secession." Mr. Moore, chairman of the committee on the Revision of the Constitution; Mr. Boyden, chairman of the committee on the Ordinance of Secession; Mr. Phillips, chairman of the committee on the Acts of the Convention, the Legislature, and the Courts since 1861, and Mr. Settle, were the leaders of the majority in the convention.

By a vote of one hundred and five to nine an ordinance was passed on the fourth day of the convention declaring the ordinance of secession null and void from the beginning. Those voting in the negative objected merely to the form of the ordinance. They were willing to vote for a resolution declaring that the arbitrament of the sword had decided against the right of a State to secede, but to declare the ordinance of secession null and void from the beginning was in their opinion a grave reflection upon the able body that passed that ordinance; and they distinctly stated that in opposing the proposed ordinance they were not to be considered secessionists. On the fifth day, by a vote of one hundred and nine in the affirmative and none in the negative, an ordinance was passed forever prohibiting slavery in the State. At the urgent request of President Johnson an ordinance was also passed forbidding the payment of the

debts created or incurred by the State in aid of the war. As to the negroes, the Governor by authority of the convention appointed B. F. Moore, W. S. Mason, and R. S. Donnell commissioners to prepare and report to the Legislature next elected a system of laws upon the subject of freedmen and to designate such laws then in force as should be repealed in order to conform the statutes of the State to the ordinance of the convention abolishing slavery. All the machinery of civil government was provided and established; the State was divided into congressional districts and an election for Governor and other executive officers and for members of the General Assembly and of Congress was ordered to be held on the second Thursday of November following, and on October 19th the convention adjourned until May 24, 1866. Judge Reade, its President, temporarily dismissing the delegates, declared: "Our work is finished. The breach in our government so far as the same was by force, has been overcome by force; and so far as the same had the sanction of the Legislature, the legislation has been declared null and void. So that there remains nothing to be done except the withdrawal of military force, when all our governmental relations will be restored without further asking on the part of the State or giving on the part of the United States. * * *

It remains for us to return to our constituents and engage with them in the great work of restoring our beloved State to order and prosperity."

Admirable optimism, but how mistaken! More than a month before Charles Sumner, leader of the Senate, addressing the Republicans of Massachusetts, had declared: "It is *impartial suffrage* that I claim, without distinction of color, so that there shall be one equal rule for all men. And this, too, must be placed under the safeguard of constitutional law. * * *

As those who fought against us should be for the present disfranchised, so those who fought for us should be enfranchised. All these guaranties should be completed and crowned by an amendment of the Constitution of

the United States especially providing that hereafter there shall be no denial of the electoral franchise or any exclusion of any kind on account of race or color, but all persons shall be equal before the law." At the same time Thaddeus Stevens, the master spirit of Congress and of the period, writing to Sumner about the Republican State Convention of Pennsylvania recently held, complained that negro suffrage had been passed over by it as "heavy and premature." "But," said he, "get the rebel States into a *territorial condition* and it can be easily dealt with. That, I think, should be our great aim. Then Congress can manage it." Here were foreshadowed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and it was predetermined that the work of our convention, whatever it might be, if it fell short of establishing and securing impartial or universal suffrage, should come to naught. The plan of Lincoln and of Johnson was already doomed to defeat by the great leaders of their party in Congress.

The election was held November 9, 1865. The anti-secession and anti-slavery ordinances adopted by the convention were ratified by the people, the former by a vote of 20,870 for, and 1,983 against it, and the latter by a vote of 19,039 for, and 3,970 against it. Seven members of Congress were elected, among them Charles C. Clarke from the Second District, Thomas C. Fuller from the Third, and Col. Josiah Turner from the Fourth, the Raleigh District. A General Assembly and State officers were also elected.

Interest centered largely in the contest for Governor. It was the ambition of Mr. Holden to be elected Governor by the people. He had been a member of the Convention of 1861 and voted for the ordinance of secession. He was a Democrat who strongly favored the war when it began, but by 1864 had become an avowed Union man who favored the immediate termination of the war and the speedy restoration of the State to the Union. That year he had been a candidate against Mr. Vance for Governor, but was defeated. He

was a personal acquaintance and friend of President Johnson and had been appointed by him Provisional Governor for this reason and also because of his acknowledged ability and pronounced Unionism. He was intensely hated by the Democrats. Considerable indignation had arisen in the convention from the belief that President Johnson's telegram to him urging the convention to repudiate the State war debt was sent at his instigation. Notwithstanding the urgent request of the President, Mr. Moore had proposed to leave the whole matter to the people, and this proposition was defeated by only four majority, the vote being 46 to 50.

Jonathan Worth was then State Treasurer in the Provisional Government. His record for Unionism was good. He was a Whig and had opposed secession. He believed, as he afterwards said in his message, that the war ought never to have occurred—that it never would have occurred if the masses of the people of the two sections could have met in council and freely interchanged opinions and information. He was satisfied that the jealousy, hatred, and distrust engendered by the struggle prevailed among politicians with far more intensity than among the citizens, including the late soldiers in either section. But he was squarely in favor of paying the debts created by the State in aid of the Confederacy, while Holden was one of the leading spirits who opposed it.

A powerful opponent of Mr. Holden was Col. Josiah Turner, then editor of the *Raleigh Sentinel*. Mr. Turner came within one of the classes excepted by the President in his proclamation of amnesty and it was necessary for him to have his disabilities removed by pardon or otherwise before he could vote or be eligible to office. Pardons were secured by petition to the President approved by the Governor. Mr. Turner prepared his own petition, and being an ardent Whig and a Union man, it was nothing less than a severe arraignment of the Provisional Governor and the party to which he belonged at the commencement of the war. It was

forwarded to the President with a recommendation by the Provisional Governor that it be held up. Mr. Turner went to Washington to inquire about the delay and was shown the endorsement of the Provisional Governor on the petition. He returned to Raleigh and the night afterwards, by appointment, delivered a characteristic speech in the court-house, bitterly denouncing Holden and urging the nomination and election of Mr. Worth. Within twenty-five days of the election Worth was prevailed upon and his candidacy for Governor announced. Mr. Turner supported him powerfully in his newspaper and on the stump and as effectually opposed Mr. Holden. Mr. Worth was supported largely by those who had been secessionists and Mr. Holden by the Unionists. Mr. Settle, always a consistent Union man and the champion of the ordinance forbidding the payment of the State war debt, in which he was aided by the President and Governor Holden, naturally supported the latter in his candidacy as he had also done in 1864. Holden was defeated by a majority of 5,939, his vote being 25,704 and Worth's 31,643, showing a loyal qualified electorate of 57,347 in the State, while the total vote cast for President in 1860 was 96,230, thus meeting many times over the requirement of Mr. Lincoln that the loyal electorate should be as many as one-tenth of the actual voting population in 1860.

To complete the work of restoration required by the President the General Assembly met November 30, 1865. Many of its members were also members of the convention which had recently adjourned. Mr. Settle had been elected from Rockingham and was chosen Speaker of the Senate, thus, before his thirty-fifth year, attaining the Speakership of both branches of the Legislature. The convention had already repealed the ordinance of secession, abolished slavery, and prohibited the payment of the debts created by the State in aid of the Confederacy; and the Legislature was now requested to take the only remaining step necessary for com-

plete restoration by ratifying the Thirteenth Article of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which had been submitted by Congress in February before. Though out of the Union, according to the view of Congress, the State was thus called upon to exercise and did exercise one of the highest functions of an American State in the Union. On November 21 Governor Holden had received the following telegram from Mr. Seward, Secretary of State:

"The President sincerely trusts that North Carolina will, by her Legislature, promptly accept the Congressional Amendment of the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery.

"He relies upon you to exercise all your functions as heretofore, with the same wisdom and in the same spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Union that has marked your administration hitherto.

"The President desires you to feel entirely assured that your efforts to sustain the administration of the government and give effect to its policy are fully appreciated and that they will, in no case, be forgotten."

The proposed amendment was almost unanimously ratified December the fourth. On the same day Congress met and the loyalty of the Southern people and their right to representation in that body were denied. The representatives from the Southern States were denied their seats. William A. Graham and John Pool, both Whigs and original Union men, were elected Senators from this State. A joint committee of fifteen, six Senators and nine Representatives, was appointed by Congress to inquire into the condition of the Southern States and report whether they or any of them were entitled to be represented in either House of Congress. General Grant, who had recently been in the South, reported in effect that they were, and General Schurz, fresh from the same country, reported substantially that they were not. These reports accompanied a special message from the President to the Senate in response to a call for information on the progress of reconstruction in the South and furnished arguments respectively to the friends and opponents of the President in his efforts to restore civil government in the

Southern States. The twenty-seventh of November the President had sent Governor Holden the following telegram, which was published in the *Standard*:

"Accept my thanks for the noble and efficient manner in which you have discharged your duty as Provisional Governor. You will be sustained by the government.

"The results of the recent elections in North Carolina have greatly damaged the prospects of the State in the restoration of its governmental relations. Should the action and the spirit of the Legislature be in the same direction, it will greatly increase the mischief already done, and might be fatal.

"It is hoped the action and spirit manifested by the Legislature will be so directed as rather to repair than increase the difficulties under which the State has already placed itself."

To correct the impressions indicated by that message the General Assembly on the ninth unanimously passed the following resolutions and transmitted a copy of them to the President and Congress:

"*Resolved*, That the people of North Carolina have accepted the terms offered them by the President of the United States, and have complied with the conditions laid down by him as necessary to restore our constitutional relations with the other States of the Union; and that they have done so in good faith, and with the intention and determination to preserve and maintain them.

"*Resolved*, That the people of North Carolina are loyal to the government of the United States, and are ready to make any concessions not inconsistent with their honor and safety, for the restoration of that harmony upon which their prosperity and security depend.

"*Resolved*, That we have confidence in the ability, integrity, and patriotism of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States; and that in behalf of the people of North Carolina, we return our thanks to him for the kindness, liberality, and magnanimity which he has displayed towards them."

About the middle of December the Legislature adjourned until February, but was called to meet in extra session by Governor Worth January 18, 1866. Before adjournment, however, it presented to the President of the United States the following memorial, in the preparation and sentiments of which Mr. Settle heartily shared, and asked that the same be laid before Congress:

"The memorial of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina respectfully shows that this Assembly was appointed, elected, and convened in strict accordance with your Excellency's plan for reorganizing the States lately at war with the United States. The people of North Carolina embraced with zeal and with a loyal spirit your Excellency's plan for the restoration of the State to the rights of a member of the Federal Union, and since the surrender of General Johnston they have been universally actuated by a fixed and honest desire to be faithful citizens of the United States.

"According to your Excellency's instructions, a convention of the people was held in October, which repealed the ordinance of secession, declaring it never to have been in force; abolished forever the institution of slavery, and forbade the Legislature ever to assume or provide for debts contracted for the war. The convention also provided for an election for Governor, for members of this Assembly, and for various local officers, and immediately after the meeting of this Assembly the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, abolishing and prohibiting slavery, was ratified with almost perfect unanimity.

"The late elections were held without excitement or tumult, and in good faith towards the government and Constitution of the United States, and whatever differences of opinion there may have been as to men, the people were a unit in their desire to do all that your Excellency required them to do, and to live in peace under and in obedience to the Constitution and laws of the general government of the United States.

"Your memorialists therefore respectfully desire that the civil law may be restored and the State permitted to resume its position as a member of the Federal Union. They make no complaint of the military authority here, but, on the contrary, would bear cheerful testimony to the wise regard of your Excellency for the interest of the people, and to the efficiency and courtesy of the officers who are, and have been, in command in North Carolina. But it is respectfully and earnestly submitted that the wisest and best system of military rule alone will necessarily fail in accomplishing what the circumstances of this people require.

"They have for generations been accustomed to the exercise of civil law, to the machinery of a State with a Governor, Legislature, courts of various grades, and county organizations. Hundreds of important and vital interests are waiting the care of local legislation and of local officers, and the sad desolations of war, material and moral, demand that life and energy should be immediately imparted to every agency of society. The interests of the people of North Carolina are the interests of the people of the United States; it is important to the whole country that the great resources of the region should be developed; that the soil should be cultivated with hopeful energy and thrift; that trade should be revived; that schools should be estab-

lished; that crime should be punished and a healthful moral tone promoted. No human being in North Carolina anticipates the possibility or the desire of renewed rebellion here, and all the inhabitants of the State desire to perform their obligations to the country and to have the National credit sustained.

"But the present state of suspense and insecurity of long continuance will necessarily result in the most deplorable injuries. It is natural that the late tremendous contest should make sad breaches in society and open a way for a fearful harvest of ruin and crime. The people so severely crippled in their pecuniary resources and in the loss of nearly all their implements of industry are in danger of becoming hopeless and heartless. Honest and useful enterprise is at a stand, works of internal improvement are likely to be arrested and go to decay, moral agencies of every kind are languishing, the tendency to immigration is checked, and the all-pervading power of the civil law, executed by numerous and efficient agents, being no longer felt, there is no security in the dealings between man and man; the passions of the evil-disposed are not held in check, and oppression, fraud, violence, and wrong, in all their countless forms, are left to prey on every community. If the threatened process of demoralization is not speedily checked by the life-infusing power of efficient civil authority and by the restoration of moral power, North Carolina, instead of being a useful and profitable member of the Federal Union, will be scourged by the outlaw and bandit and will fall into a condition in which she will be only a burden to the general government. In view of these considerations so important to the entire Nation, your memorialists respectfully ask that the machinery of the civil government of the State may be restored to vitality and set in motion, with full authority to protect our rights and punish all crime, and be thereby enabled to preserve our ancient fame as a moral, pure, and law-abiding people. And they would ask this much, even if, for reasons that seem good to your Excellency, North Carolina is not permitted to resume her position in the Federal Union.

"When North Carolina gives her pledge she does it honestly. She has again tendered her plighted faith to the Government of the United States and she has manifested her spirit by acts that speak for themselves. There is no disloyalty among her people, no thought or dream of another rebellion. They are not ashamed of their courage, however, nor of their honest tenacity of purpose and desire to be free, and they feel assured that the brave and generous people of the North will respect in them that manhood which, upon an hundred fields, has won the applause of a gazing world.

"They have cheerfully given up their slaves and they are now actuated by a sincere desire of promoting the welfare and happiness of the unfortunate negro, between whom and them there are very many old and tender ties.

"Your memorialists present themselves to your Excellency and to the representatives of this Great Nation with as honorable a purpose as ever actuated any people."

Pursuant to this request, the President directed Governor Holden to discontinue the Provisional Government, and on the twenty-eighth of December, 1865, by direction of the President, he turned over to Governor Worth the Great Seal of the State and its other property and effects in the capitol, and Governor Worth entered upon the discharge of his duties as civil Governor. The General Assembly met in extra session January 18, 1866, to perfect the organization of civil government, in which there had been discovered some defects. On January 22 the learned commissioners appointed by the convention to conform the statutes of the State to the changed conditions resulting from the emancipation of the slaves submitted an able and thorough report recommending an enlargement of the rights and privileges of the freedmen and abolishing discriminations against them. The report was substantially enacted into law. It conferred upon persons of color the same rights and subjected them to the same disabilities as by the laws of the State were conferred on or attached to free persons of color prior to emancipation. The courts were fully opened to them for the protection of their persons and property, by permitting them to sue and be sued in any court of the State and to be heard as witnesses whenever their rights were in controversy. In civil cases their evidence was allowed only where their rights of person or property were put in issue and would be concluded by the judgment or decree to be rendered, and in criminal cases only where the violence, fraud, or injury alleged was charged to have been done by or to persons of color. In all other civil and criminal cases such evidence remained inadmissible unless by consent of the parties of record. When a colored person was a party he might call to the witness-stand any other persons, white or colored, not otherwise incompetent; while in cases where white persons alone were parties, white persons only were competent as witnesses.

This enlargement of the rights of colored persons, however, was not to be effectual until jurisdiction of matters relating to them should be fully committed to the courts of this State; that is, until the Freedmen's Bureau relinquished its exclusive jurisdiction in matters relating to them. This provision was subsequently repealed by the convention. The laws of marriage, and in general, all laws affecting white persons, were, with few exceptions, made applicable to colored persons. They were protected in the making and enforcement of contracts and with the exception of suffrage were placed upon an equality before the law with white people.

Neither the convention nor the Legislature touched the question of suffrage. They were not required by the President to do so. It was left as it was before the war. It was no part of the plan of Mr. Lincoln or of Mr. Johnson to compel the Southern States to adopt any particular form of suffrage or to trail under any particular political banner as a prerequisite to the resumption of their practical relations with the Union. In their opinion, the question was one solely for the States themselves, the Federal Government having no power in the premises. Mr. Lincoln's idea is thus expressed in a letter to Governor Hahn of Louisiana, March 13, 1864:

"Now you are about to have a convention which among other things will probably define the elective franchise. I *barely suggest for your private consideration*, whether some of the colored people may not be let in—as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They will probably help in some trying time to come to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom. *But this is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone.*"

President Johnson in August, 1865, had written the Provisional Governor of Mississippi *suggesting* that the convention of that State then in session extend the elective franchise to all persons of color who could read the Constitution of the United States in English and write their names and who owned real estate valued at not less than \$250 and paid

taxes thereon. "This," said he, "you can do with perfect safety and thus place the Southern States with reference to free persons of color on the same basis with free States."

The Legislature adjourned in March. The convention met again on the twenty-fourth of May and amended the Constitution of 1835 so as to embrace in it, among other things, the prohibition of slavery and the establishment of a strictly white basis for representation in the House of Commons, and submitted it thus amended to the people for ratification and adoption. The convention adjourned the twenty-fifth of June. It had performed its duties in a spirit of loyalty to the Union, and it was for the people to confirm or reject what it had done.

In the meantime, on June 16, 1866, the Fourteenth Amendment had been submitted to the State for ratification, the second time during this period, when the State was treated by Congress as out of the Union, that it had been called upon to exercise the high function of accepting or rejecting an amendment to the Constitution of the Union. The proposed amendment would disfranchise many of the leading citizens of the State. A Legislature was to be elected in August before whom the question of its ratification would be presented. This amendment and the new State Constitution were the great issues in the campaign in North Carolina that year. The Freedmen's Bureau, with its separate courts for controversies affecting the colored people, had created great friction and irritation among the people. The great debate on reconstruction, begun in Congress in December before, was still going on. In it the Southern States were declared by the leaders of the dominant party to be out of the Union, without loyal civil governments, and with no power in the Executive to restore or readmit them except upon terms satisfactory to Congress. Yet all the machinery of civil government was in full operation throughout this State and order and quiet prevailed. Judges of the Supreme and Superior Courts and all local officers had been elected and were performing their duties. Governor Worth in his mes-

sage to the General Assembly of 1866-'67 declared that not a single instance had occurred where a sheriff had occasion since the surrender to require a posse or other aid to civil process. "Our Judges," said he, "have executed their duties in a manner which would have given luster to the judiciary of any period in the history of the world. The steadiness with which they have held the scales of justice has at last extorted praise even from those who at first studied to malign them." Lamenting the action of a few agents of the Freedmen's Bureau and some of our own people in seeking to make the impression at the North that freedmen and Union men could not get justice at the hands of our courts, he declared that these machinations were well understood at home and that no murmur was then heard against the fairness with which justice was administered in our courts; that increase of crime was being rapidly repressed and reverence for justice was having its triumph.

Referring to the rejection of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, he declared that every citizen who had advocated the doctrine of secession before the war or taken conspicuous part in the military conflict had delicately foreborne to ask for a seat in Congress; that no one who had favored the initiation of the war or distinguished himself in the field during its progress had asked to be made a member of Congress; that "every Senator and Representative elected had always opposed secession until the United States could no longer protect his personal property." "The people of this State with a singular approach to unanimity," said he, "are sincerely desirous of a restoration of their constitutional relations with the American Union. In the face of circumstances rendering it nearly impossible, they have paid its government the taxes of former years, laid when another *de facto* government, whose powers they could not have resisted if they would, was making levies in money and in kind almost greater than they could bear; they have acquiesced in the extinction of slavery, which annihilated more

than half their wealth; they have borne with patience the exclusion of their Senators and Representatives from the Houses of Congress, where they have had no one to contradict or explain the most exaggerated misrepresentations or even to make known their grievances. How long this unnatural condition of our relations is to continue it seems we shall be allowed to have no share of determining." He unhesitatingly recommended the rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment.

In his opposition to this amendment and also to the new Constitution submitted by the convention Governor Worth followed the leadership of the two most eminent citizens of the State, Chief Justice Ruffin and Governor Graham. Early in July, 1866, the Chief Justice published an elaborate argument against the whole programme of restoration adopted by President Johnson, and particularly against the convention and the Constitution framed by it. "I consider," said he, "that this is no Constitution, because your convention was not a legitimate convention and had no power to make a Constitution for us or to alter that which we had and have; and that it can not be made a Constitution even by popular sanction." The convention, he maintained, was called without the consent of the people of the State, by the President of the United States or under his orders; "an act of clear and despotic usurpation, which could not give that body any authority to bind the State or its inhabitants." The delegates were not the choice of the people, he said, because of the unlawful restrictions placed on the qualifications of those persons who were eligible and those who might vote for them. They were not authorized by the President to frame a Constitution and were not chosen for that purpose. The modes of amendment prescribed by the old Constitution had not been followed by the convention, and its acts in this respect were void. "It had no powers and could not make a Constitution," he declared; "for the same reason the people have no powers, and that, as neither the convention nor the

people have any power in the premises, by consequence both together are equally destitute of the requisite power. The convention was an unauthorized body, and therefore no more than a voluntary collection of so many men—a caucus recommending to the people to adopt by their vote a certain instrument as our Constitution—a thing which the people, under our Constitution, are not competent to do on that recommendation; and therefore the conjoint resolutions and votes of the two bodies have no more effect than that of either by itself.” For these and other reasons, the great Chief Justice concluded that the proposed instrument was no Constitution and could not be made one by what had been done or by what could be done, and he therefore earnestly urged the people to reject it. His opinion was accepted and acted upon by a majority of the people. The Constitution was rejected by a vote of 19,570 to 21,552, and at the same time a Legislature was elected who rejected the Fourteenth Amendment on the fourteenth of December, 1866.

Mr. Settle earnestly advocated the adoption of the Constitution and the acceptance of the Fourteenth Amendment as the assured and promised way to end our anomalous situation and gain admission to the Union of the States. The failure of these measures was a deep disappointment to him. In the defeat of the former the work of the convention, as well as the friendly attitude and intercession of President Johnson, were in a measure disapproved, and in the rejection of the latter the State had gone counter to the expressed will of Congress, which now was supreme; and on March 2, 1867, nearly two years after the surrender, the second Reconstruction Act was passed over the President's veto, by which the governments of the Southern States were destroyed and they were remitted to military rule until they should adopt the Fourteenth Amendment and incorporate in their organic law the principle of free and impartial suffrage. Stevens and Sumner had at last triumphed. Johnson and the South, too

sure of success and too chary, perhaps, of compromise and concession, were defeated—but *only for a generation*.

I will not stop to inquire which were right, legally or practically. "The war," says Mr. Hart, in his *Life of Chief Justice Chase*, "began in 1861 on the theory that it was impossible for a State to withdraw from the Union, ended in the plain fact that the seceded States were practically out of the Union. * * * The Southern people supposed that an oath of allegiance to the United States would readmit them into its fellowship; Johnson took the ground that all the important participants in the rebellion should be punished by the loss of the suffrage until he should restore the privilege by individual pardons; Congress intended that it was to decide what persons might take part in reviving the State governments, and was determined that the States as communities should be punished by the imposition of humiliating conditions of restoration. The only logical and consistent theory was that of the Southerners, and that was impracticable because it did not secure to the country the objects for which the war had been fought."

"After this long lapse of time," says John Sherman in his *Recollections*, "I am convinced that Mr. Johnson's scheme of reorganization was wise and judicious. It was unfortunate that it had not the sanction of Congress and that events soon brought the President and Congress into hostility. Who doubts that if there had been a law upon the statute-book by which the people of the Southern States could have been guided in their effort to come back into the Union, they would have cheerfully followed it, although the conditions had been hard? In the absence of law, both Lincoln and Johnson did substantially right when they adopted a plan of their own and endeavored to carry it into execution."

A definite and certain way of return having at last been prepared, the practical question was the acceptance or rejection of it. To accept it meant immediate readmission—with all the rights of an American State; to reject it, continued

military rule. Mr. Settle, like many of his friends, acquiesced in the stern measures prescribed by Congress. He was deeply convinced that the interests of the State required the prompt acceptance of these terms, with a resolute purpose on the part of the people of making the best they could of the dark and troublesome situation. Accordingly, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1867, he attended a convention at Raleigh whose object was the organization of a party with that end in view. Upon his motion it assumed the name of the Republican party and allied itself with that political organization. Its cardinal principles were Liberty, Union, and Equality before the law, and it advocated the acceptance of the plan of reconstruction proposed by Congress. Shortly afterwards, by request of his neighbors and friends, he set forth his views on public affairs in a speech at Spring Garden, Rockingham County. He had participated in the war and had held a judicial office under a Confederate State Government and was himself disfranchised under the recent act. His audience was composed of both white and colored people. He had no arguments for one that could not properly be addressed to the other.

Their rights and duties, he declared, were mutual, and the sooner they understood them the better it would be for both. The scene was a novel one. Those who were lately slaves and those who but lately owned them were there as equals before the law, inquiring as to the best policy for governing their common country. . . "We did not exactly get out of the Union," said he, "though I confess it is somewhat difficult to define precisely where we are. Of one thing I am certain: some of us are trying to get back."

Addressing the colored people, he said:

"To whom, then, are you indebted for freedom? To Him in whose hands is power and might. * * * You are free men and citizens of the greatest government on earth, clothed with power to protect that freedom, and if you use it aright and not abuse it, the government is on a higher road to prosperity to-day than any she has ever yet traveled. For whatever may have been said in other days, it will

hardly be pretended in the light of present events that freedmen, animated by all the hopes of life and knowing that their wives and children enjoy the proceeds of their labor, will not develop the resources of a country faster than slaves who have no objects or aims in life and no incentive to labor save fear. If any portion of my audience has not surrendered old prejudices on this subject, let me inquire of them why have the Northern States, with a poorer soil and a colder climate, so far surpassed their Southern sisters? Why do the bleak and naturally barren hills of New England bloom like gardens while our fertile slopes are covered with broom-sedge and are commonly and properly described as 'old fields'? Why do churches, school-houses, railroads, factories, cities and towns exist and flourish there while poverty and pride constitute our fortune here? One is the result of free labor, the other of slavery, which has been a blight and a mildew upon every land it has ever touched."

He strongly urged the necessity of industrial education for both races and that machinery and educated labor were especially needed at that time. Said he:

"Heretofore we have not used the most improved implements of farming, but have contented ourselves to drudge along with rude and awkward tools. Those who have experimented with labor-saving machines on the farm have thrown them aside for various reasons; but the truth is, they did not know how to operate them, and when the least part was broken or out of order they could not repair them. To remedy this we must at once educate our laboring classes. We are now taking a new start in the world. The future weal or woe of our country depends upon the foundations we are now laying. If we are to have prosperity we must make up our minds to look at several things in a light very different from that in which we have been accustomed to view them. We must bury a thousand fathoms deep all those ideas and feelings that prompted the cruel laws against teaching these people and must quicken our diligence to see that the means of light and knowledge are placed within the reach of every one of them. Then may we hope that those who were a curse to the country as ignorant slaves will prove a blessing as intelligent freedmen."

He discouraged the denunciation of Northern men and Northern notions. They were what was needed in the South. He said:

"We want their capital to build factories and workshops and railroads and to develop our magnificent water-powers which are to-day monuments of God's bounty and of man's indolence and ignorance. We want their intelligence, their energy and enterprise, to operate these

factories and to teach us how to operate them. * * * In starting afresh, let us start new interests. We can do it by kindly inviting our Northern friends who are seeking investments for their surplus capital to come here by showing them that they and their families are welcome in our midst; that we want them here as neighbors and friends and not as enemies. We should never again in public or private indulge in an expression calculated to call up the bitter memories of the past. Let the dead past bury its dead. Our thoughts and hopes should be on the future. We should teach our people to love the whole Union. * * * Sectional appeals are unpatriotic. * * * This is a new business and our success and prosperity depend upon the good feeling that ought to exist between the white and the colored people. We want no white party or colored party, and I warn my colored friends against that idea. The Southern man who says or does anything to create bad feeling towards the North at this critical time is no patriot and the Northern man who tries to stir up one portion of our people against the other is equally lacking in patriotism. There is no reason why the two races should be at enmity, but many good reasons why they should be friends. Our common interests demand it and I trust our hearts feel it. Surely slave-owners can entertain no unworthy prejudice against a people who remained with them faithfully to the last and forbore to participate in a struggle which, after 1863, was avowedly for their freedom."

He advised white men to be kind and just to the negro, to make fair and liberal contracts with him and stand up to him, even to their own hurt. His advice was the same to the colored man. Heretofore he had been given little opportunity to form general character; it would not be so hereafter. The broad world was now before him, and he would soon make some sort of mark upon it. His general bearing and dealings with men would soon make for him a general character. He could make it good or bad just as he saw proper. Honesty, industry, economy, sobriety, truth, virtue, and intelligence would secure for him all that any man could desire. He should look to the virtue and integrity of his children and teach them to speak the truth from the time they first began to lisp. * * * The duties and responsibilities of freedom and of citizenship were important, and he must now qualify himself to discharge them honestly and intelligently. If he failed to do so he would soon find a level which would not be very much higher than slavery.

Speaking further to the colored men, he said:

"Let me also say to you: Beware of any man, whether of Northern or Southern birth, who tries to influence your passions and prejudices against the white race or to build up a colored party on these passions and prejudices. He who does it is an enemy alike to the white man and to the colored man and is seeking some personal advantage at the expense of his country, to say nothing of right and wrong. See what madness it would be for you to undertake to form a party on such a basis in North Carolina! You constitute only one-third of our population and unless you can get a large portion of the white people to join you, you will be in a helpless and hopeless minority. * * * Let hate and prejudice have no place here. Elevate yourselves, but pull nobody else down. Go for the education and progress of mankind without regard to race or color, and invite all to come forward and assist in the development of our common country. These principles are founded upon a rock and can not be moved."

Except the time he served in the war and in the convention and Legislature of 1865-'66, Mr. Settle was Solicitor of his district continuously from 1861 to 1868. In April, 1868, he was elected Associate Justice of this Court and served till his appointment as Minister to Peru in February, 1871, when he was succeeded by Nathaniel Boyden. The climate of Peru severely threatened his health. Besides, his heart was with his family and friends in North Carolina and he was not satisfied to remain away. In the spring of 1872 he resigned and came home. The same year he was chosen President of the National Republican Convention at Philadelphia which nominated General Grant for his second term—the only Southern Republican ever honored with the presidency of a National convention of his party. He accepted the distinction, "not so much as a tribute to himself, but as the right-hand of fellowship extended from our magnanimous sisters of the North to their punished, regenerated, but patriotic sisters of the South." The same year he also became unwillingly the candidate of his party for Congress from the Greensboro district against General James M. Leach, the incumbent, and, after a joint canvass of great ability, was defeated by the narrow majority of 268. Asso-

ciate Justice Dick having resigned his membership of this Court in the summer of 1872, Judge Settle on December the fifth of that year was reappointed to this Court, where he served as Associate Justice till June, 1876, when he resigned to accept the nomination of his party for Governor of the State.

Judge Settle was nominated for Governor on the twelfth of July, 1876. Governor Vance had already been nominated as the Democratic candidate. Immediately after his nomination Judge Settle announced that he would invite his opponent to a joint discussion. On the fourteenth of July Governor Vance was the guest of the Tilden and Vance Club at Raleigh and had an appointment to speak in that city at eleven o'clock. Judge Settle was also in Raleigh and addressed a note to Governor Vance, asking a division of time on such terms as they might arrange. Governor Vance answered, stating his situation as the guest of the club, but that he was authorized by it to agree to a division of time on this wise: Vance to open in a speech of an hour and a half, Settle to reply in a speech of the same length, and Vance to rejoin in a speech of an hour, which should close the discussion. Judge Settle declined any proposition that would not give an equal division of time between the disputants and expressed an anxiety for a joint canvass of the whole State on the usual terms. The notes of each were in fine spirit and admirably courteous, but no joint discussion was arranged that day. The newspapers of the same morning announced appointments of Governor Vance and General Leach to speak in various part of the State in July and August. Judge Settle, through the chairman of the Republican Executive Committee, asked that these appointments be recalled and arrangements made for a joint discussion in every county of the State. This was declined by the Democratic chairman on the ground that since the war such had not been the custom, but he cheerfully offered to arrange for

joint discussions at the times and places designated in the list referred to, which was agreed upon. This is all he would consent to, preferring to leave the matter entirely to the candidates themselves, in accordance with the practice theretofore prevailing in regard to candidates on the State ticket. The candidates agreed on a joint canvass of the State. Their debates are historical in North Carolina. They were conducted with splendid dignity, each candidate treating the other with fine courtesy throughout the discussions. It was a return to the spirit of older times when such men as Graham and Hoke, Gilmer and Bragg, Badger and Miller led the opposing hosts in the field of political contest. In all that makes political speaking instructive, impressive, and convincing these discussions were in no respect less masterful than the debates between Lincoln and Douglas in 1858. The sentiment of a large majority of the white people was with Vance. On this account Judge Settle was continually at a disadvantage, but after each debate his political adversaries were forced to acknowledge his power and that there were laurels won on either side. But practically, the joint discussions were disastrous to the Republican cause, just as they were in the campaign with Leach four years before, and as they have usually been in the South since the war. The white people were stirred to the depths, as otherwise they might not have been, and they thus became a power so irresistible that only an equal number of white men could withstand them. No braver, fairer, manlier political battle was ever fought on American soil than that which was fought by Judge Settle in 1876. But success was impossible. He was defeated, but in his defeat he received the plaudits and the respect even of his bitterest political foes.

Judge Settle was a personal friend of General Grant. They had met in Raleigh the last of November, 1865, when General Grant was traveling through the South to ascertain the condition of the Southern people and their feeling toward the Union. After Judge Settle's defeat for Governor Presi-

dent Grant on January 30, 1877, tendered him the appointment of United States Judge for the District of Florida, which he accepted and filled with great distinction until his tragic death in the Judge's room of the government building in the city of Greensboro December 1, 1888.

Judge Settle possessed in an eminent degree the qualities of courage and independence of character. He was bold in the enunciation of his views and fearless in performing the duties of the important positions to which he was called. Though his official stations were occupied for the most part in times trying and troublesome, when men's feelings were most bitter, such were the dignity of his presence and manner, the firmness of his resolution, and the magnanimity of his actions that, whether sitting as a Judge or presiding over the deliberations of Legislatures or conventions, unquestioning obedience was rendered to his authority. So good a heart had he, so kind and benignant were his words and deeds, that even his enemies at last became his friends. At the time of his death he was the foremost man of his party in the South, and the end came when his fine abilities were in their prime. Many eyes all over the country were looking for him to be called to Washington as a member of the Cabinet in the new administration. With his knowledge and ability, and above all, with his kind, unselfish heart, he would undoubtedly have accomplished much good for his country.

As a lawyer Judge Settle was fair, able, just, and honorable. His mind was quick and he readily caught the point. In statement he was clear and incisive, in argument logical, in manner and expression forcible and effective. As a prosecuting officer he comprehended the depth and meaning of his oath of office and strove to administer the criminal law fairly and impartially—not harshly nor with oppression. He observed the golden rule of the law: he lived honorably, injured nobody, and gave to every one his due. On the bench here and in Florida, he was beloved by his Associate Judges as

well as by the bar, and was popular amongst all classes of people. One of the Judges who sat with him in this Court thus spoke of him:

"On the bench his relations with his associates were always cordial and intimate. We regarded him as a younger brother and were greatly aided and benefited by his wise suggestions and well-considered counsels in those troublous times that required cautious action, courage of opinion, and judicious adjudication in settling new and difficult questions arising out of the disturbed condition of public affairs resulting from the reconstruction of the State Government and from the new modes of pleading and procedure in the courts. As a Judge he was affable and courteous, patient and attentive in hearing argument, firm and impartial in his rulings. He presided in court with impressive dignity, and his integrity was stainless. He possessed in a high degree the genius of common sense and seemed to have an intuitive knowledge of the eternal principles of reason, justice, and truth. He relied more upon the principles and reasons of the law than upon the speculative and conflicting decisions of the courts. In any case argued before him his quick and clear apprehension of the merits and the questions of law involved generally enabled him to render a just and correct decision."

Personally, Judge Settle was unusually magnetic and lovable. He commanded admiration if not affection instantly and without effort. He was a perfect specimen of a man cast in a mould as perfect as Nature ever uses. He was naturally a superb, exquisite gentleman. His features were always illumined with the light of intelligence and the glow of a warm, generous, noble heart. He was tall and erect and his movements were firm, graceful, and elastic. His genial presence in the social circle always inspired pleasant thoughts and feelings. The kindliness of his nature was as diffusive as the sunshine. His manners were easy, cordial, sincere, and provoked a feeling of cheerfulness and happiness in those around him. He had no feeling of envy or jealousy and was free from malice and guile. His humor was sunny and playful, and he had a large fund of amusing anecdotes which he appropriately applied to illustrate a story or an argument. His wit was sparkling and racy and, in the excitement of controversy, keen and caustic, but had no venom in its sting. As a conver-

sationalist and companion he had an individuality that was inimitable.

In public life his generosity, courage, and intellectual force made him easily a leader among men. Though not at the bar many years, he developed forensic powers of the highest order and showed the qualities of a great advocate.

As a politician he was valiant in advocating the principles and policies in which he believed. He was straightforward and truthful in his dealings with his party friends and associates. There was no hypocrisy, deception, or double dealing about him. He despised petty politics and refused to submit to the dictation or rule of the petty politician in the guise of a party boss. He believed in government by parties, but not solely for parties, and much less for the special benefit of a few in those parties. He was not unduly biased by partisan prejudices or animosities. While firm in his convictions and fearless in the expression of his opinions, he was tolerant of the opinions of others and generous in his judgment of their conduct and purposes.

As a political debater he was powerful and commanding and specially adroit in the conduct of discussions.

As a legislator he possessed a large fund of useful information and practical knowledge. He was familiar with the subjects of legislation and the rules and proceedings of deliberative assemblies, over which he presided with charming dignity and impartiality.

His reputation was not confined to the State. He was as well known and as well loved in other States as in North Carolina. His views upon State and National questions were enlightened, comprehensive, and eminently patriotic. He was sanguine in his anticipations of the future and indulged in no gloomy forebodings of coming disaster. Experiences of the past had not caused him to distrust the patriotism, the wise conservatism of the American people. He recognized the fact that time—social and business intercourse, and the pride and love of a common country—had subdued the pas-

sions and prejudices of other days; and he believed that such just and liberal policies would be pursued as would shortly overcome all animosities lingering with the people of the two sections of our country and cement them together in the bonds of perpetual friendship and union. His faith in the advancement and glory of the Republic was unfaltering and sublime.

The greatness of men is usually estimated from their public career and services. This is not always a true test. It was in the family and among his intimate friends that the shining qualities of Judge Settle's character were most apparent. His social traits were beyond compare. He had a pleasant word and a kind look and smile for every one. He was benevolent to the poor. His generosity usually outstripped his means. The lowly and humble venerated him for his tender heart. He loved little children and was patient with them. He was not a promoter of strife or discord. He was a peacemaker. He had gathered around him his children and grandchildren and they all looked up to him with pride and affection as their leader and adviser. Yet he was their friend and companion. He was thoughtful for the comfort and happiness of all—of sons and daughters of adult years, and of the little toddlers who understood his gentle word and caress. All knew his unselfishness and loved his patience and charity. To them, indeed,

"He lived

Considerate to his kind. His love bestowed
Was not a thing of fractions, half-way done,
But with a mellow goodness like the sun
He shone o'er mortal hearts, and brought their buds
To blossom early—thence to fruits and seeds."

A more upright, lovable, chivalric gentleman never lived in this land.

Z. B. VANCE.

RICHARD H. BATTLE.*

I will be pardoned for a personal allusion in saying that I was selected to address you on this interesting occasion, rather than an orator like Ransom, Waddell, Jarvis, Bennett, Robbins, or some other eloquent man associated with him in public life, because it was known to those having the selection in charge that I was more intimately acquainted with Vance than any of them, and that I probably best knew the thoughts of his heart and the motives of his conduct. Such I believe to be the fact. We were contemporaries at Chapel Hill, and fellow members of the same literary society, he entering as a law student and taking a partial course with the senior class, when a young man just twenty-one, and I an impressionable youth of fifteen years. I was his private secretary from the day of his inauguration as Governor, September 8, 1862, for two years, and then, by his appointment, State Auditor, and often his legal counsel in questions and cases growing out of the conscript law, until we left the Capitol, April 12, 1865, the day before its occupation by Sherman. During these three years, while his labors were herculean and his anxieties intense, I was in daily association with him, sometimes in the privacy of his home, and I had the best of opportunities to hear what he said, to see what he did, and to sound the depths of his great soul. Then and ever afterwards he treated me with the kindness and confidence and (may I not say?) with the affection of an older brother. I would have been blind indeed not to have learned his real character, and callous indeed not to have felt for him the affection of a brother.

If then, in a cursory review of the leading events of his life and an attempt to delineate his character, I seem to

* From an address delivered at the unveiling of the Vance statue in Capitol Square, Raleigh, N. C., August 22, 1900.

be influenced by a natural bias, I can only say, I try to tell things as they were, and remind you that I am only giving reasons for the verdict of the people, attested by what we see here to-day, that taking into consideration the many elements which constitute greatness, and measuring all her sons by its many standards, in all the history of North Carolina Zebulon B. Vance was her greatest son. For Senatorial wisdom and the exercise of the civic virtues of a Cincinnatus, we may assign the pre-eminence to Nathaniel Macon; for polished statesmanship, in times of peace, to William Gaston or William A. Graham; for profundity as an advocate and a logician, to George E. Badger; as a great jurist, to Thomas Ruffin; for the graces of magnificent oratory, to Willie P. Mangum; for the talent to develop the internal resources of a State, to John M. Morehead; but in achievement as a leader, in inducing others to follow him by the strength of his personality, for what he said and what he did, in peace and in war, towards shaping the destiny of the State and for promoting the welfare of the people, Vance was ahead of them all.

Some writer has said that it takes three generations to make a gentleman. The history of Western North Carolina shows that it took three generations of heroic and patriotic citizens to make our Vance. His father was David Vance, and his mother, Margaret, a daughter of Zebulon Baird; and the Vances and the Bairds, sturdy Scotch-Irish people, from Kings Mountain down, were patriots and leading citizens. He inherited from such ancestors a spirit of independence, a love of freedom, and a reverence for the true, the pure, and the good, along with a strong mind and sound body. He inherited little else; for his father died when he was a boy, leaving a widow and eight children to be supported on a small farm, and besides a few slaves, scarcely more personal property than was necessary to pay his debts and funeral expenses. So Zebulon was a poor boy, who had to make his own way in the world. When about twelve years

old, his father sent him across the mountains on horse-back, to enter as a pupil in a high school, known as Washington College, in East Tennessee; but he was soon called home by the mortal illness of his father, whose bedside he reached only in time to see him die. All the education, in schools, he then had or acquired afterwards, until he became of age, was obtained in little schools in the neighborhood of his native home. That home was about ten miles northwest of Asheville, in the county of Buncombe, and but a few hundred yards from the French Broad River. Born and reared in the shadows of the highest peaks of the Blue Ridge Mountains, with Mount Mitchell and Pisgah in full view from the surrounding hills, and with the music of the mountain streams and birds in the air, the boy, endowed with uncommon intelligence and an active imagination, was early inspired with a love of his native land, while his soul was attuned to the poetry of nature. Patriotism and poetry, lofty sentiments, are closely akin; and these sentiments most abound where nature is most picturesque and grand; where the mists of morning are dispelled from glowing peaks by the rising sun, and the lengthening shadows of evening change the form and color of cloud, forest, and mountain; where rushing streams and leaping cascades furnish to eyes which can see, and ears attuned to hear, a beauty and charm unknown to dwellers among the foothills or on the level lands below. The intelligent inhabitants of such a region learn to love their homes intensely, and are ever ready to fight and die for them. So it was, ever, with the Swiss and the Highland Scotch, where mountains echoed and re-echoed their patriotic songs; and we read in sacred history that when the chosen people were taken by their conquerors from the mountains and hills of Galilee and Judea, and carried captive to the plains of Babylon, they "hung their harps upon the willows" and wept tears of despair for their country. Certain it is that, in my observation of the great and patriotic men of our State, her two most devoted sons were born and reared among the mountains

of Buncombe: David L. Swain and Zebulon B. Vance. Inspired alike by the poetry of the Bible and of nature, their souls were open to all high and patriotic emotions. At first their love was given to their native homes; but as the sphere of their lives and labor widened it was extended to State and country. Was it due to this special quality or virtue, apparent in them, that they, each, became the Chief Magistrate of the State at the early age of thirty-two years, when younger than any other in our long list of Governors?

Becoming of age, young Vance in the summer of 1851 applied to ex-Governor Swain, President of the University, for a loan to enable him to enter the Law School and take some of the studies of the senior class in that State institution. President Swain, though eminently prudent in business, was so struck by the manly tone of the application that, with his proverbial partiality for the mountain boys, and knowing young Vance's people, he at once acceded to the request; and a friendship was then cemented between them that ended only with the life of the patron in 1868. Vance remained at the University only a year, but it is a testimony of those who best knew him there that in so short a time no young man had made a greater impression on law teachers, faculty, fellow-students, and villagers than did this mountain youth. It is true that this impression was largely due to a vivacity more striking, a humor more genial, and a wit more sparkling than any other youth had displayed at that secluded seat of learning before. His mountain yarns, his witty illustrations in debate and conversation, and even his funny, though not disrespectful, replies to solemn questions from president or professor, in the absence of a perfect knowledge of the subject in hand, contributed to the enlivenment of college and village life. "Have you heard Vance's last?" was a question frequently asked by one student of another, and a laugh attending its recital always followed. But he availed himself, with avidity, of the opportunities of improvement afforded him, and President Swain, Professor Mitchell, and

law teachers, Judge Battle and Hon. S. F. Phillips, and the more discriminating of his fellows, in class and society, saw, beneath all this, solid ability, earnest purpose, and a power to influence others which made them predict for him leadership in the future. He had then acquired a fair English education, and some knowledge of the Latin language and literature; but his forte was an uncommon mastery of the Bible, Shakespeare, and Sir Walter Scott. These classics he had learned, inwardly digested, and thoroughly assimilated, and they ever furnished him ready quotation and apt illustration for essays, speeches, and conversation.

The estimate of him by the Dialectic Society, in his one college year, is shown by his election as one of its representatives in the editorship of the *University Magazine*. In the May number, 1852, is the following notice of him: "Mr. Zeb. B. Vance, one of the corps, left us recently for his mountain home. Our warmest wishes for his welfare went with him, and we are much gratified to learn that he has been elected County Solicitor of the State of Buncombe. *Gratulamur ei victoriam.*"

Before 1868 two licenses from the Supreme Court were required to practice law in this State, one for the County Courts and the other for the Superior Courts. At Raleigh, in December, 1851, young Vance obtained his County Court license, and at the Morganton term, in August, 1853, license to practice in the Superior Courts. Having completed the course at Chapel Hill he had prescribed for himself, in May, 1852, he returned home with County Court license in his pocket, opened an office in Asheville, and threw himself into life's battle in earnest.

At twenty-two years of age he had so far triumphed over the spirit of evil that we find him master of himself, a great victory for a young man. By measuring himself with other young men of admitted ability, he had acquired a just estimate of his own powers, and it would appear, from what follows, that estimate was high. But he was free from egotism

in conversation, a fault usually conspicuous in "self-made" men, and his tact prevented any appearance of undue self-assertion in his manner. I have often wondered at what stage of his career, if ever, he realized how much was in him. "The child is father of the man;" and therefore I have dwelt at some length on his early years.

That he had friends, and was thought to have made good use of his time as a student of the law, is evidenced by the fact that the Justices of Buncombe at once elected him to the office of County Solicitor, whose duties were to prosecute offenders against the criminal law and to advise the Justices in their management of the finances of the county. His competitor for the office was a young man of high promise, licensed with him, then and subsequently his rival for popular favor, and destined to become United States Senator and Chief Justice of our Supreme Court, Hon. Augustus S. Merrimon. In their early contests at the bar Merrimon displayed, from closer application, a more accurate knowledge of the law, while Vance, by his ever-ready tact, popular address, and skilful management, seldom failed when he was entitled to a verdict, and sometimes won when law and facts were against him. Once at a County Court in Madison, tradition tells that to sustain his position in a case on trial Vance cited with confidence a decision of the Supreme Court in an opinion written by Ruffin, C. J., not adverting to a repeal of the law as set forth in that opinion by a late Act of Assembly. Mr. Merrimon, representing the other side, rose with a volume of the laws in his hand and triumphantly read the repealing act. Vance had the last speech, and with impudence unparalleled, gravely said: "Gentlemen of the jury, are you not amazed at the assurance of my friend, Mr. Merrimon, in citing an act of the Legislature, passed by such men as your good neighbor, John Smith, who knows no more law than you do, and Bill Jones of Yancey, who knows less, against the decision of our Supreme Court, constituted of such men as Ruffin, Gaston, and Daniel?" It may have been a surprise

to both lawyers that the jury found for the Supreme Court. Vance's excuse to his conscience for his imposition on the jury was the *gaudium certaminis*, and the fact that the wrong was easily reparable by an appeal to the Superior Court, where the trial would be *de novo*; and doubtless he advised his client quickly to agree with his adversary and settle according to law, with, possibly, an abatement of costs. This example of his extrication of himself from a sudden and hopeless dilemma must not be taken as an indication of his usual honesty in dealing with court and jury, then and in after life. On the contrary, his rule and practice were to commend himself to the Court by a fair statement of the law, as he understood it, and to command the confidence of juries by accurate recital of the testimony of witnesses.

The popularity of young Vance and his natural bent soon took him into politics; and he became a candidate of the Whig party for a seat in the House of Commons of the State Legislature, in the summer of 1854, when he was twenty-four years of age. His opponent, a man of double his age and of high standing in the county, expected easily to distance his youthful competitor. At their first discussion, in the courthouse at Asheville, the senior, who led off, forgetful of the history of Goliath and David, made sport of the beardless youth, who wanted his seat in the Legislature. When Vance rose to reply he assumed an air of comic diffidence, and said, in a hesitating manner: "Fellow-citizens, I admit I am young; but it is not my fault. My parents did not consult me as to the time when I should be born. All I can do is to promise you to try to do better next time." The crowd was captured by this unexpected reply, and raised a yell that deterred his opponent from alluding to his youthfulness again. Vance was elected, and proved a punctual and faithful member of the Legislature.

He returned home with increased popularity among his constituents and elsewhere in the State, and in 1856 he was the Whig-American candidate for the Senate in the Buncombe

Senatorial District. His opponent was David Coleman, Esq., a former officer in the United States Navy, a Democrat of fine ability, and afterwards a gallant Confederate Colonel. The Democratic majority in the district was considerable, but that was only a stimulus to Vance's zeal and activity; and though defeated on election day (the only time in his life when a candidate before the people), his opponent went in with a diminished majority and the laurels of the contest were fairly divided between them.

His motto seems to have been, "Excelsior." In 1858 Thomas L. Clingman, long the Member of Congress from the large mountain district of fifteen counties, having been appointed by Governor Bragg to a vacancy in the United States Senate, resigned his seat, and W. W. Avery of Burke, to whom he had transferred his mantle, and David Coleman, both Democrats, were candidates for the succession. Young Vance leaped into the arena. Coleman retired, and threw his influence in favor of Avery. Clingman's majority had been about 2,000. Avery was an able man and his family one of large influence, and even Vance's intimate friends at first regarded his candidacy as but little better than a joke.

It seems that by that time, at least, the young aspirant knew himself and his powers better than his confident opponent and his near relatives did. Before the contest was over they realized that a new star of the first magnitude had risen in the mountains, and that its radiance might dim those whose brilliancy had been so much admired. His campaign was marked by a variety and versatility never known before. Once, when they were advertised to speak at a cross-roads, at the top of a hill, at 12 o'clock on a certain day, Avery was there on time, and surprised not to see or hear of Vance, who could ever boast of punctuality in meeting engagements. He waited a few moments after the hour for speaking, and was getting ready to address a few sedate citizens on the ground, when down the hill, toward a branch, he saw a little cloud of dust rising, and then he heard a sound of revelry. He had

not long to wonder what was the matter, for soon there came a crowd of young men and boys, leaping, dancing, and shouting, with Vance in the midst of them, afoot, displaying one of his early accomplishments, by giving the music of "Molly, put the kettle on," or other rustic tune, with the "fiddle and the bow." Like Michael, when she saw David dancing before the ark, Mr. Avery questioned the dignity of the proceeding, but he could not doubt that Vance had already captured a part of their crowd. Such a departure in Congressional campaigning indicated *originality*, if not *genius*; and originality is a leading feature of genius.

On occasions his speeches were characterized by impassioned denunciation of a growing tendency toward *secession*, in the Democratic party, and by eloquent appeals for the Union. In one way or another, by election day, he had, to use the language of his ardent followers, "set the mountains on fire," and he confounded the Democratic leaders by carrying the district by 2,049 majority.

In 1860 he was again elected to Congress, his opponent being Col. David Coleman, to whom he returned the compliment for his defeat for the State Senate four years before. In the campaign with Coleman his speeches were generally on a higher plane, because he was then a United States Congressman, and because of the momentous issues upon the country; though he still enlivened the debates with sallies of wit and anecdotes illustrative of his argument, as before. That he could be pathetic, as well as amusing, is shown by his reply, before a crowd filling the court-house in Asheville, to a charge from Mr. Coleman that he had voted, during the preceding session, for extravagant pensions for soldiers of the War of 1812. * * * The sympathy of his hearers was so aroused that many of them were in tears. It was ever one of his elements of ability and skill in debate to thus turn the charges of his adversaries to their confusion and dismay. Coleman was a gentleman of reserved and sensitive nature, as well as of dignified bearing, and, smarting under defeat,

after the election he called Mr. Vance to account for offensive words during one of their debates, and demanded an apology. The demand was not complied with. A challenge from Coleman was the next step, and it was promptly accepted. Both parties proceeded to prepare for an early meeting; but Dr. James F. E. Hardy, of blessed memory, a chivalrous gentleman and a friend of both, getting wind of the hostile meeting, found a way to prevent it and bring about a reconciliation. Vance never attempted to defend his acceptance of the challenge, except upon the ground of a public sentiment then existing in his district, which demanded such evidence of physical courage from a man in public life—the same sentiment that, in 1824, caused his uncle, Dr. Robert Vance, late a Member of Congress, to lose his life in a duel with Hon. Samuel P. Carson, and, in 1804, impelled Alexander Hamilton, the statesman he had been taught most to revere, to accept a challenge and die at the hand of Aaron Burr. Thanks be to Heaven that we have lived to see the day when no such sentiment exists in any part of our State!

That Vance faithfully performed his duty in the House, and in its committees, and established a reputation for ability as well as wit, and was recognized as one of the leading champions of the Union from the South, I have but to refer to the eulogies of him delivered in the United States Senate, after his death, by those able and venerable Republican Senators, Lot M. Morrill of Vermont and John Sherman of Ohio, who stood with him as champions of the Union in the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth Congresses. He was then but twenty-eight years of age, and the youngest Member of Congress; and the tact and modesty he learned four years before, in our State Legislature, still characterized him. Then, and always, he knew when to speak and when to keep silent.

Besides the part he took in Congress and his campaigns of 1858 and 1860, it is well to remember the impression he made and the services he rendered on two other occasions. In the summer of 1860 a great mass-meeting of the friends

of the Union in North Carolina was held in Salisbury. Bell and Everett had recently been nominated as the Constitutional-Union candidates for President and Vice-President, and that mass-meeting was held to insure the electoral vote of this State for them. George E. Badger, John M. Morehead, William A. Graham, Kenneth Rayner, Alfred Dockery, and other great leaders, were there, including the young champion from the mountains, and delegations from all parts of the State. The throng was immense, and patriotism and enthusiasm were in the air. From a stand erected for the purpose masterly speeches were made by the veteran orators, and when the day was waning and the crowd tired of standing and hoarse with shouting, Vance was called out. His youthful face, his ruddy countenance, his twinkling eye, and his familiar greeting at once attracted the crowd; and as they listened to his clear statement of existing conditions, his apt illustrations, his amusing stories, and his impassioned appeals, or held up to their gaze dark pictures of horrors to follow secession and disunion, all became subject to his magnetism; their weariness and hoarseness were forgotten, and when he closed, the streets of the town and the hills around long reverberated with their enthusiastic shouts. That night, flaming tar-barrels, and lighted torches in the hands of excited citizens and visitors, in procession, illuminated the streets, and the popular speaker of the afternoon was again in requisition. At different street corners he was almost forced to speak, again and again, to admiring hearers of both sexes and all ages. Referring to the remarkable impression he made as a popular speaker that day and night, Mr. Badger, in reply to a compliment from a friend to his own great speech, said: "But you ought to have heard young Vance. He is the greatest stump-speaker that ever was; the greatest that ever was!" repeating with emphasis.

The other occasion was in December, 1860, when he stopped in this city during the recess of Congress for the Christmas

holidays. South Carolina had then called a convention for the purpose of seceding from the Union. Two of her Congressmen, Boyce and Keitt, had stopped in Raleigh at the same time. Our Legislature was in session, and at the instance of a few of its ultra-Democratic members and their sympathizers, they made secession speeches, in front of the Yarbrough House, to people called together to hear them. The prevailing sentiment in Raleigh was then intensely Union, and the indignation of many was aroused to a high pitch. Threats of violence were being muttered from citizen to citizen, and there was danger of a riot and of insult, or worse, to the indiscreet visitors. Sion H. Rogers, our gallant Congressman, always vigilant, perceived this, and at once had the court-house lighted and the bell rung, and a meeting to listen to Union speeches announced. He got Vance to go with him, and the latter fully appreciating the condition, made to the excited crowd, which followed him and Rogers from the street, a speech semi-jocose and semi-serious, in which he excused his South Carolina friends on the ground that they were crazy fanatics, upon whom the indignation of sane people was wasted. He soon got his hearers in a good humor, and with "Hurrah for Vance!" they dispersed to their homes. Vance, doubtless, reported to the secession orators the argument with which he defended their folly.

In common with the other Union men of the State, while contending that the election of Lincoln in 1860 was no cause for secession, Vance had committed himself to oppose the coercion of a seceded State, if any of them should exercise what he considered the revolutionary right of secession. The people were with him, and in February, 1861, voted against holding a convention to consider the question of secession. But when, in April, the clash of arms came, and President Lincoln called for troops, from this State in part, to restore the authority of the United States in South Carolina and other seceded States, a convention was at once called, on the historic 20th of May, and an ordinance of secession adopted.

Vance raised the second company organized in his district, the "Rough and Ready Guards," of sturdy mountaineers, and brought them to Raleigh, as their Captain, early in May. The company became part of the Fourth Regiment of North Carolina Troops, afterwards designated as the Fourteenth, under command of Colonel W. D. Pender, a splendid soldier and a superior disciplinarian. They were sent down to our eastern coast, and there Captain Vance proved his zeal and daring by suggesting that picked men should make a dash upon Fort Hatteras and overpower the Federal soldiers in charge; but it was deemed too hazardous by his superior officers. In August, 1861, he was elected Colonel of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, and led it in victory and defeat in stirring campaigns in North Carolina and Virginia, for twelve months. He exhibited intrepidity in the battle with Burnside's forces at New Bern, in March, 1862, and skill in preventing his regiment from being cut off by the burning of Trent River bridge and the gunboats ascending the river. He gallantly led his command in the fights around Richmond, about July 1st, against the protest of its officers and men, who recognized how much his life would be worth as Governor of the State, to which office he was then about to be elected. They all delighted to follow him, but they felt that the regiment was safe under the leadership of such men as Lieutenant-Colonel Harry Burgwyn, who was to close his gallant career one year later at Gettysburg, and John R. Lane, afterwards to distinguish himself as their commander, and who, battle-scarred as he is, still illustrates the best citizenship of the State; while if Colonel Vance were slain, they thought the loss to the State and its soldiers would be irreparable. He listened not to their entreaties, however, and shared the fortunes of his command until duly notified of his election in August. He was besought, in 1861, to be a candidate for the Confederate Congress, but positively refused to do so, or even to serve if elected. His nomination for the Governorship was unsought, and it was accepted only after assurances from

many friends representing both the old parties of the State, and whose opinion he could not disregard, that in that office he could best serve the Confederate cause as well as the people of North Carolina. His popularity as a soldier was attested by the fact that he received every vote in his regiment, while the rank and file of our soldiers of other commands voted the same way.

Having cast in his lot with the South and pledged his faith to its cause, that faith he thenceforth did "bear of life and limb and terrene honor." When the term of enlistment of his old company expired many of its members expressed their intention to return to their homes and families. He had them called out and formed in a square, and standing in their midst made them a speech on what he thought to be the duty of the hour. It breathed such fervor and devotion to the Southern banner that not one failed to re-enlist; and even fathers who had come to take their boys home resolved to remain with them and share their fortunes.

That they did not resent the advice was proved by the number of their sons, born during or soon after the war, whom they named for him. It is said that when he was canvassing the section of the mountains from which they hailed, in 1876, he began by presenting a five-dollar bill to each lad introduced as his namesake; but they began to come so fast that, to avoid bankruptcy, he was obliged to reduce the present to \$2 a head.

But Vance's right to the epithet of "The War Governor of the South" is due as much to the earnest support of the Confederate cause by his State through him as its executive head, as to what he did for its people, their protection under the law, and their general welfare. For nearly three years, from September 8, 1862, to the evening he left Raleigh, April 12, 1865, to avoid capture by Sherman, he did all that vigilance, zeal, and energy could do to have and keep every man to whom Lee, Johnston, and others were entitled, as soldiers, at the front. To him it is due, largely, that the

seventy-five regiments and some unattached commands from North Carolina were kept fuller than those from any other State, notwithstanding that the bodies of more North Carolina dead strewed the battlefields of the country than those of any other State; that quite one-sixth of the Confederate troops hailed from this State; that we had a soldier for nearly every voter; and that one-fifth the Confederates surrendered by Lee at Appomattox, and one-half surrendered by Johnston at Greensboro, were North Carolinians. And what was the testimony of our great captain, Robert E. Lee, as to the value of Vance's service to his army? In the winter of 1863-'64, in view of the disasters of Gettysburg and Vicksburg the summer before, desertion was depleting his ranks and despondency was settling like a pall over his army and the country. Governor Vance saw that the good name of his State and its soldiers was imperiled, and he was moved to leave his office at Raleigh, visit the army, and make to brigades and divisions, in which there were North Carolina troops, those wonderful speeches whereby hope was substituted for despondency, and our battered regiments, from other States as well as this, were nerved again with the courage and resolve to do or to die. Was it not partly due to this campaign of oratory that General Lee was able to make his wonderful resistance to General Grant, who had double or treble his numbers and the world's resources at his command, from the Rapidan to Petersburg, and to make himself the peer of Hannibal, Frederick, and Washington, and his noble army to share the immortality of the Spartan band at Thermopylæ? It is reported that he said that Vance's visits and speeches were worth as much to him as 50,000 recruits. After hearing some of those speeches, Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, who followed him from corps to corps and from division to division, asserted that if oratory is to be measured by its effects, Governor Vance was the greatest orator that ever lived. And President Davis, who had not at first been so partial to Vance or North Carolina, said, when on the eve of the collapse they parted at Greensboro, with

tears in his eyes and in his voice, and with a warm grasp of the hand: "God bless you, Governor, and your noble State!"

One evening, a few days after Sherman had crossed the Cape Fear, on his victorious march toward Raleigh, he and I were walking towards his residence at the foot of Fayetteville Street. I said: "Governor, I suppose nobody can longer doubt that the end is near at hand." His reply was: "No! It must be so; but so far as I am personally concerned, and but for my wife and children, I would rather die than to see it." He spoke with much feeling and with tears in his eyes. The *gladium certaminis* was strong in him; he drew the sword and threw away the scabbard when he entered the army. He was ever ready to sacrifice life to the cause; he foresaw the desolation and degradation of his beloved State, if it failed, and he imagined unexampled horrors as the result of the sudden emancipation of 4,000,000 slaves. And then the ardent wish of his heart, that the honor of North Carolina should be maintained, and the faith she had pledged to the sisters of the South redeemed, to the utmost!

The executive ability and the unwearying industry in attending to the details of business he exhibited, after he became Governor, were a surprise even to those who had been forward in forcing his consent to stand for the office, and in securing his election. The remembrance of what he accomplished, amid the countless and various demands upon his time, fills me with amazement even now. The legislative sessions were frequent and long, and to it he had to send messages on matters of public importance, and confer with its members and committees; the eastern section was within the Federal lines and some of the western counties were subject to incursions by Kirk's desperadoes, and others, from East Tennessee; and lawlessness from *buffaloes* in the east and deserters in some of the western and central counties, and their sympathizers, demanded constant vigilance from him and the Home Guard under his command. These had to be officered, fed, and equipped; salt must be provided to

cure meat for the support of citizens and slaves at home and soldiers in the field; the supply of clothing was nearly exhausted and the machinery for homespun cloth nearly worn out; to avoid privation and suffering new supplies must be had; the public schools for the education of poor children must not be closed; the railroads and other modes of transportation, in which the State was interested, were to be kept in order for our people, and to transport Confederate troops; courts must be kept open, and special terms, for punishment and prevention of crime, provided for; deserters had to be arrested and sent back to their commands. All these things were upon him. The execution of the Confederate Conscript Law raised numerous issues which required the intervention of the Governor, who must see that those subject to it did not evade and those exempt from it were not sent to the front; unlawful exactions from impoverished farmers had to be prevented; and a hundred other troublesome questions had to be met and solved. His correspondence was immense, and he was without stenographers or typewriters. Two aides, Cols. D. A. Barnes and George Little, and private secretary and executive clerk, Mr. A. M. McPheeters, were kept constantly busy, while important letters to the President, Secretary of War, and others, were written by his own hand. He clearly saw that State's Rights were the cornerstone of the Confederate Government, and his reverence for the law and determination to see that it was observed made him as firm in preventing unlawful encroachments from the authorities at Richmond, or Confederate officers without authority, as he was to see that the laws of the State insuring justice between man and man were obeyed, and that crime was repressed; while no fair-minded man, however ardent a Confederate, could deny that, through him and otherwise, the State was doing its full duty to the common cause.

What he did for the relief and comfort of our people, and the soldiers from the State, will appear from the following figures derived from the State Quartermaster's Department.

By the use of blockade-running steamers, notably the "Ad-Vance" (called for him by a play upon his name), running to Nassau and thence to Liverpool, and carrying out cotton and rosin and bringing in supplies most needed, he provided, besides a quantity of heavy machinery, 60,000 pairs of hand (cotton) cards, 10,000 scythes, 200 barrels of blue-stone for wheat growers, 250,000 pairs of shoes and leather to make them, 50,000 blue blankets, gray cloth to make 250,000 suits of uniform, 12,000 overcoats, 2,000 Enfield rifles with one hundred rounds of ammunition for each, 100,000 pounds of bacon, 500 sacks of coffee for hospital use, \$50,000 worth (in gold) of medicines, etc., etc. The shoes and clothing were not only sufficient for the North Carolina troops, but he turned over a large quantity to the Confederate troops from other States. After the battle of Chickamauga, when Longstreet's Corps were nearly in rags, he sent them 12,000 suits of uniform. At the surrender, though the "Ad-Vance" had been captured and the blockade rendered so effective as to prevent further importation, he had on hand nearly 100,000 suits and large quantities of blankets and shoes.

But more than for these material benefits provided for the people of North Carolina, their great debt to him was the maintenance of the civil authority and the supremacy of law amid the clash of arms and his protection of the humblest citizen against illegal arrest. Alone, of all the States of the United States and of the Confederate States, with one possible exception, in North Carolina during those four long dark years of war the writ of *habeas corpus* was never suspended.

The following is an instance of his prompt and resolute manner in dealing with infringements on the rights of citizens and the dignity of the State: In the Fall of 1863 the *Raleigh Standard*, edited by W. W. Holden, subsequently Governor of the State during the period of Reconstruction, was thought to be hostile in spirit to the Confederate cause, and to be looking toward peace by separate State action. On the night of September 9th a Georgia regiment of General

Benning's brigade, passing through Raleigh, stopped long enough to lead a mob and destroy the *Standard* office. Next morning a mob of citizens, friendly to the editor of the *Standard*, destroyed the office of the *State Journal*, a paper of strongly opposite views. Governor Vance at once telegraphed the facts to President Davis, and in a letter to him next day used the following vigorous language:

"As it is my intention to enforce the laws rigidly against all citizens who participated in the second mob, so I feel it my duty to demand that punishment may be inflicted on the officers who assisted or countenanced the first. Should this not be done, I shall feel it my duty to demand the persons of these officers of the State of Georgia to answer the demands of justice. I feel very sad at these outrages. The distance is quite short to either anarchy or despotism, when armed soldiers, led by their officers, can with impunity outrage the laws of a State. A few more such exhibitions will bring the North Carolina troops home to the defense of their own State and her institutions. I pray you to see that it does not occur again. Should any newspaper in the State commit treason, I would have its editor arrested and tried by the laws, which many of us yet respect. I thank you for your prompt orders, by telegraph, to Major Pierce concerning the passage of troops through the city. They are now being enforced, and peace can be preserved if they are rigidly obeyed."

This threat of separate State action, made to emphasize his determination to have the laws of the State respected, is offset by an incident over twelve months later, when stout hearts began to quail at what they feared to be the approaching downfall of our cause. I had some knowledge of it at the time, but years after Governor Vance gave it to me in its details. A gentleman of the highest character and standing, and whom Governor Vance greatly respected for his wisdom and patriotism, was here from Richmond. He called at the Executive office and informed the Governor that he was commissioned to deliver an important message to him, and wished an audience with him alone. Others having retired from the room, the gentleman informed Governor Vance that certain members of Congress from this and other States had recently held a conference, and, in view of what appeared to them the

utter hopelessness of the cause, came to the conclusion that steps should be taken to prevent further effusion of blood and loss of property; and that North Carolina was, by its location in respect to invading armies, in a position to bring about the result; and their message conveyed a request that he should issue an order requiring the North Carolina troops in the field to return home, and so end the war. Governor Vance rose from his seat, in great excitement, and standing with his back to the fire asked his companion, courteously, whether that was his advice; and receiving as a reply, "No, I only deliver the message I was requested to bring," he swore, in his wrath, a great oath. "No! I would see the last one of them in perdition before I would do it. Were I to do that, the last of it would not be heard for generations to come. It would be charged that the Confederacy might have succeeded but for the treachery of North Carolina. So far as the honor of the State is in my keeping it shall be untarnished. She must stand or fall with her sisters." His friend replied: "I am not sure but you are right." And, on his return to Richmond, reported to those who sent the message that they need not expect anything by separate action from North Carolina.

In 1864 Governor Vance was again a candidate and elected Governor, his opponent being Mr. Holden, who was understood to favor peace on almost any terms. If the value of the currency of the country was an indication of the probability of its making good its independence, then its chances of success must have been considered very slim at best; for, from January to August in that year, the average value of Confederate money was one hundred dollars to five dollars in gold. Mr. Holden had many followers among the timid and despondent at home and in the field, and especially in those sections where deserters were hiding in mountains or in forests. They generally had little to say, though in some counties secret societies, known as *Red Strings*, were organized. Governor Vance had to meet and overcome these secret influ-

ences; and he did it by a remarkable campaign. His resourcefulness was exhibited as never before; and I doubt whether any orator of this country, before or since, has displayed greater variety in his speeches on public issues. Speeches he made, for example, in Wilkesboro and Fayetteville, within a fortnight of each other, were published almost literally, and it is hard for a reader, who did not know Governor Vance, to believe the same man could make both speeches. But, analyzed, they were not inconsistent. He spoke at Wilkesboro (prolific as that town had been in gallant Confederate officers and men, such as Gordon, Barber, Brown, Cowles, and others) to many who were friends of, or related to, deserters or hiding conscripts, and his object was to win their waning allegiance back to State and Confederacy by arguments addressed to their sense of prudence as well as patriotism, and by gentle reminders of what was his duty as well as theirs in the crisis then upon them; while at Fayetteville his hearers were ardent Confederates, who needed only encouragement and stimulus to renewed hopefulness. The color of one side of the shield was shown at one place and that of the other side at the other.

The effect of these speeches, and a few others at leading points, was marked. His speech in this city, from a stand between the southeast corner of the court-house and the "Gales offices," was, I think, all things considered, the most effective speech I have ever heard. He was again triumphantly elected, by fair vote and open count, and held his office until it was vacated by the surrender of the Southern armies. He left Raleigh on horse-back late in the afternoon of April the 12th, and, as I am informed, attended, a day or two afterwards, the last council of war held by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, near Durham.

He surrendered himself to the Federal General in command at Greensboro, in May, 1865, and being paroled, joined his family at Statesville. Then he was arrested and taken to Washington, where he was confined in the old capitol prison. I give his own account of his arrest in a spicy letter

provoked by a false report of it by a famous United States General of cavalry.

His opinion of General Kilpatrick may be gathered from the following letter:

CHARLOTTE, October 13, 1868.

To the Editor of the New York Herald:

I see by the public prints that General Kilpatrick has decorated me with his disapprobation before the people of Pennsylvania. He informs them, substantially, that he tamed me by capturing me and riding me two hundred miles on a bareback mule. I will do him the honor to say that he knew that was a lie when he uttered it. I surrendered in Greensboro, N C., on the 2d of May, 1865, to General Schofield, who told me to go to my home and remain there, saying if he got any orders to arrest me he would send there for me.

Accordingly, I went home, and there remained until I was arrested on the 13th of May by a detachment of three hundred cavalry under Major Porter of Harrisburg, from whom I received nothing but kindness and courtesy. I came in a buggy to Salisbury, where we took the cars. I saw no mule on the trip, yet I thought I saw an ass at the General's headquarters. This impression has since been confirmed.

Respectfully yours,

Z. B. VANCE.

A few incidents connected with his imprisonment illustrate his pluck and irrepressible spirits.

After Vance had been lodged in prison, an acquaintance who was permitted to see him asked him how he came to be there. "Security debt," Vance replied. "How so?" asked the friend. "Why, you see, Holden, a leading Democrat in my State, pledged the last man and the last dollar for the war, and I went his security. He didn't pay, and here I am." Tom Corwin of Ohio, an old Whig Congressman, distinguished for his wit and ability, also called to see him. After cordial greeting given and received, he said: "Vance, I don't understand this. I knew you as a warm advocate for the Union; and here you are a prisoner for treason or something of the kind, while your old secession opponents are left at home. I can't get the hang of it." With a countenance purposely elongated, Vance replied: "I am afraid I will get the *hang of it* before long." Corwin laughed, and said a man who could so take a doubtful fate should be relieved, if he could

help him. Secretary Stanton had the prisoner's case looked into, and had him discharged on his record for insisting on kind treatment of Federal prisoners confined at Salisbury, as appeared in his letter-books.

Resolving to begin the practice of law again, he settled in Charlotte. He first practiced in partnership with Col. H. C. Jones and Gen. Robert D. Johnston, and afterwards as a partner of Maj. Clement Dowd. His circuit was extensive, and his practice brought him fair remuneration, but it did not occupy all of his time, and his evenings at home and on circuit, when not in conference with client or associate counsel, were employed in the preparation of lectures, by the delivery of which he could add to his income for the support of his family and to pay debts incurred before the courts were fairly opened. Some of these lectures were eloquent, and exhibited much literary skill, and they were all interesting and instructive. One, on "The Scattered Nation," suggested, doubtless, by the high qualities he observed in some of his Jewish friends and neighbors in Statesville and Charlotte, gave him real fame as a lecturer, and was delivered with great acceptability to Jew and Gentile, by request, in different parts of the country, North and South. One, on the "Demagogue," in the derivative sense of the word, as a *leader of the people*, should be in print. It contains a very amusing account of the experiences of an enterprising canvasser for Congress, doubtless his own, and some excellent lessons to public speakers as to the use of illustrations and anecdotes in popular speeches. His anecdotes were so amusing that they were, after every speech, widely circulated; and not to repeat well-known stories he must either have had a wonderfully large repertory or have manufactured many of them for the occasion.

Governor Vance was accustomed, on account of having devoted so much of his time to other things than the law, to speak lightly, with his friends, of his accomplishments as a lawyer; but he was well-grounded in legal principles, and his

sense of justice was so strong, and he was so quick to apprehend a point suggested by Judge or counsel, that his client's cause seldom suffered from his want of technical knowledge; and his influence with the juries was more than sufficient to make up for any deficiency in that direction. An opponent in some of his cases, himself an able and successful lawyer, said, after some of Vance's triumphs, that a law ought to be passed by the Legislature denying the *last speech* to Vance before a Mecklenburg jury. His quickness and knowledge of human nature made him very skilful in examination of witnesses, while by unexpected repartee, by apt illustration and mirthful stories, he often upset the decorum of the Court and convulsed jurors and bystanders.

He was courteous to brethren of the bar, and conspicuously fair to honest and truthful parties and witnesses, though opposed to his client; but his denunciation of fraud, oppression, and manifest lying or prevarication was terrible to the offender.

That he was possessed of the acumen and logical ability that would have made him a great lawyer, if he had devoted his time chiefly to the study of legal questions, is proved by the very able constitutional argument he made in the United States Senate in August, 1893, upon the minority report presented by him as a member of the Committee on Privileges and Elections on the right of Lee Mantle to a seat as Senator from Montana.

The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon Governor Vance many years ago by both Davidson College and the University of the State.

While a paroled prisoner of the United States, Governor Vance did not think it proper to take an active part in politics, but his advice was often sought and freely given to the Conservative-Democratic leaders in the State. He at once realized that North Carolina must again become part of the United States, and he advised his fellow-citizens to shape their conduct as citizens on that basis, to accept the situation

as cheerfully as possible, and, without sulking, to proceed to mend their broken fortunes—just as did our great military chieftain and Christian hero, when he became a college president at Lexington, Virginia, who, by example and precept, inspired the young men committed to his charge to recognize, as the result of the arbitrament of war, that they and he were citizens of the United States, as well as of Virginia or North Carolina, and owed it faithful and, as far as possible, cheerful allegiance.

At the commencement of our University in June, 1866, Governor Vance delivered, to the few young men who had found means, at that time of lost fortunes and general desolation, to complete there a higher education, an address on "The Duties of Defeat." It is commended to the patriotic youth of the South. In that address, after earnest words expressing admiration for the gallant officer, leading a charge on the enemy, rallying his wavering men, or cheering their advance, with the resolution to conquer or die, he used this language:

"We thrill and burn as we read the glowing story, and exhaust the language of praise in extolling his virtues. But not less glorious, not less worthy of the commendation of his countrymen, is he who in an hour like this bravely submits to fate, and, scorning alike the promptings of despair and the unmanly refuge of expatriation, rushes to the rescue of his perishing country, inspires his fellow-citizens with hope, cheers the disconsolate, arouses the sluggish, lifts up the helpless and the feeble, and by voice and example, in every possible way, urges forward all the blessed and bloodless and crowning victories of peace. It is a noble thing to die for one's country; it is a higher and a nobler thing to *live* for it. The greatest campaign for which soldiers ever buckled on armor is before you. The drum beats and the bugle sounds to arms to repel invading poverty and destitution, which have seized our strongholds and are waging war, cruel and relentless, upon our women and children. The teeming earth is blockaded by the terrible lassitude of exhaustion, and we are required, through toil and tribulation, to retake by storm that prosperity and happiness which once were our own, and to plant our banners firmly upon their everlasting ramparts, amid the plaudits of a redeemed and regenerated people."

With patriotic pride he recalled the achievements of our Southland for the common country, and the constancy and courage of our soldiers in the war, ended only a year before, in confidence that such qualities must everywhere be admired, and said:

"I would as soon believe that there was no room for such things in the breast of man as truth and honor, as that every soldier in the Army of the Potomac, from its General to the humblest private that followed its banners, did not in his heart respect and honor the lofty courage, consummate skill, and patriotic constancy of that *other army*, which, though vastly inferior in numbers and appointments, yet kept it four years on the short but bloody journey from the Potomac to the James, and filled every inch of its pathway with ghastly monuments of the slain."

He ended the address with these inspiring words:

"May this honored and revered University speedily and from time to time open its gates and send forth to the work of the regeneration of their country as many high-souled and generous, brave, and enthusiastic youths as rushed through its portals to untimely graves during the years of our tribulation. I could not endure to live but for the comforting hope that compensating years of peace and happiness are yet in store for those who have struggled so manfully and endured so nobly. Having gone down into the lowest depths of the fiery furnace of affliction, seven times heated by the cruel malice of civil war, I believe there will yet appear, walking with and comforting our mourning people, one whose form is like unto that of the Son of God."

What a bugle-note of hope and faith and cheer such words were—in that day of gloom, when Federal garrisons here and elsewhere were guarding us as a subjugated people, and many were yielding to despair—not only to the young men to whom they were spoken, but to multitudes in all parts of the State, who were listening for the voice of the Oracle which never yet had failed them! My young friends, heed these words! His prophecy of prosperity and happiness, for his and your State, has been more than fulfilled, and we are on the threshold of still brighter things. North Carolina in its darkest days was a home nothing could induce him to forsake.

Tempting offers were made to him to settle elsewhere, and wealth and political honors would certainly have followed; but he refused them all, preferring poverty here to material prosperity elsewhere. Follow his example! He loved North Carolina with undying love, in her darkest adversity. Surely, in her new life of prosperity you can and will love, honor, and cherish her.

Until his parole as a United States prisoner was, in effect, cancelled by the dismissal, at Washington, of all thought of prosecuting him for treason, he made no political speeches; but in 1868 he, as the representative of the younger, and ex-Governor William A. Graham of the older statesmen of our Commonwealth, then in the throes of reconstruction, made, by invitation, before the Democratic Convention of that year, great speeches advising the people of the State to maintain their dignity and self-respect at all hazards, and outlining a policy to be pursued in that dark hour. Their wise words were heeded. No people in the world's history ever displayed more fortitude or bided their time with more patient dignity than you, your fathers, and older brothers did, while the rule of the carpet-baggers and scalawags (as Governor Vance named the meaner natives among us), by votes of recent slaves, and backed by the dominant party at Washington, was imposed upon us.

During Governor Holden's impeachment trial, in 1871, his incorruptibility, and his sense of what he owed, as an example, to the people, were put to the test; and he was called on to meet a more subtle temptation. It came at a time when, for some reason, he was in greater need of money than usual, and a friend, who was with him daily, noticed an unwonted depression about him. His mail was handed him, and in it a letter from Raleigh. He read and re-read it, with knitted brow. "What is the matter, Governor?" his friend asked. He replied: "I am in particular need of money just now, and here is a letter from a friend of Governor Holden's offering

me a large fee to help in his defense. Now I know he can get better lawyers than I am, and I am satisfied this offer is made to have my personal influence with the members of the Legislature thrown in the scales for him. I feel that it would be a prostitution of that influence, and I must refuse the offer."

As the result of the reaction caused by the Holden-Kirk war, and by a determined effort, the Democrats captured the legislative branch of the government in 1870, and about the first of December of that year Governor Vance, notwithstanding he was still under political disability, was elected to the United States Senate, being preferred to General Ransom, who had so distinguished himself in the War Between the States, and Hon. A. S. Merrimon, distinguished as a lawyer and Judge and in political life. But Governor Vance was so obnoxious to Republicans at the North, because of the vigor and eloquence of his proclamation during the war, and because he was the acknowledged War Governor of the South, that he was refused his seat in the Senate. After long waiting, and finding the tantalizing hopes held out to him, from time to time, of the removal of his disabilities to be vain, he resigned his contingent right to be Senator, and General Ransom was elected in his place. This soldier and statesman, a born diplomatist, had not been long in the Senate before he succeeded in having Governor Vance's disabilities removed. There was another vacancy in the Senate to be filled by the General Assembly, in the Fall of 1872, and he was the favored candidate of a large majority of his party for the seat; but a few Democratic friends of Judge Merrimon's bolted the action of the caucus, and the Republicans in the Legislature, diverting their votes from their party candidate, helped them to elect Merrimon. This was the greatest disappointment Governor Vance experienced in his political career; and for a time he was really depressed. The sympathy of his friends, whose love for him was increased by this reverse, however; his natural bouyancy, and the growing demands

of his family, requiring his constant labor, soon restored his equanimity. In view of what he was able to accomplish, after he became a Senator, six years later, when he was nearly forty-nine years old, and when his capacity for labor was possibly not so great as it had been, and notwithstanding that Judge Merrimon made a faithful and able Senator, it seems a matter for regret that so many years of Vance's life, as a champion of the South and of low tariff, were lost to the country by his failure to get the seat his party intended for him six and eight years before.

But a great work was reserved for him to do in North Carolina. The Judicial and Executive branches of our State Government were still in the hands of the Republicans, notwithstanding the vigorous campaign made by Judge Merrimon as the Democratic candidate for Governor, and his associates on the ticket, in 1872. In 1876 the Conservative-Democratic people of the State looked for somebody to lead them to victory. The eyes of the masses turned toward Vance as their leader in the struggle. The names of other good men were before the convention; but, at the end of the first and only roll-call, 962 out of 966 votes were announced for Vance. That night he made a speech to a large crowd in front of the National Hotel, now the Agricultural Building, accepting the nomination. It was very earnest, and more serious than his speeches were wont to be, and impressed his hearers with the gravity of the work before him and them. He seldom said anything that sounded boastful, about himself, in speeches or conversation; but then, alluding to the corruption of the times and the temptations to which he and others had been subjected during the war and since, to save or make something out of the wreck, he raised his hands above his head and solemnly said: "Before high heaven, these hands are clean; no charge can be made that one dishonest dollar has ever soiled these palms." The effect was electric; and every man there felt ready to stake his life on the truth of his

words, and those words rang, with conviction to all, throughout the length and breadth of the State.

The Republicans had put forth as their candidate their ablest speaker, and most accomplished and popular politician, Hon. Thomas Settle, then on the Supreme Court Bench of the State. He had signified his acceptance of the nomination, and the "Battle of the Giants" was soon to begin. Because of the different character of the audiences which naturally assembled to hear the Republican and Democratic candidates for high office, it had not been the custom to have joint discussions; and some members of the State Democratic Committee advised against a joint canvass between Vance and Settle, and others doubted its advisability. Not so thought Vance; and a few of us concurred in his opinion. The result was that he promptly accepted an expected challenge from Settle, and for weeks the greatest and most exciting campaign ever known in the State was waged. The champions were both men of conspicuous ability and high character. Judge Settle had been long a student of party politics, and stood so high as a Republican leader that he was chairman of the convention in which General Grant was nominated for the Presidency, at Baltimore, and was a most skilful debater. Both candidates were possessed of splendid physique, about six feet in height, and weighing near two hundred pounds, Settle being a little the taller and Vance, probably, a little the heavier of the two. Both presented a very handsome appearance on stump and platform—Settle being more regular of feature and Vance the more winning in expression. The campaign was conducted on a high plane, and both fully satisfied their friends. As the rewards of their labors, Vance became Governor and afterwards United States Senator, and Settle was made United States Judge of the District Court of Florida.

Vance had not miscalculated his hold upon the people and his power to excite enthusiasm among his hearers. It was aroused to fever-heat wherever the speakers went, and Henry

Clay was never more of an idol in Kentucky than Vance was in North Carolina. The Confederate veterans rallied to his banner, sixty thousand strong, and with their sons and younger brothers, recently come of age, one hundred thousand strong. They well knew who had been their best friend. The battle terminated by his triumphant election, with a majority of over thirteen thousand votes. I mention an incident of the campaign, as illustrative of his magnanimous nature. When Settle went to Charlotte, to meet their appointment, it became understood that he would be very coldly received. It was Vance's home, and to prevent mortification to his opponent there, he called for Judge Settle himself, with the handsomest turnout he could find, and took him to the place of speaking.

Taking his seat for the third time as Chief Magistrate of the State, in January, 1877, he proceeded to do all that a patriot and statesman could do for its upbuilding. Time forbids me to do more than refer to the plans outlined, and the earnest recommendations made in his inaugural address and his messages to the Legislature of 1877 and 1879. Nothing seems to have been omitted. Increased facilities for education of the people, of all conditions, normal schools for training of teachers of both colors, the employment of women as well as men in the public schools, and improvement in different ways in our charitable institutions, so as to enlarge their capacity for good to the poor unfortunates of the State, were urged generally and in detail. His recommendations were heeded by the General Assembly, and our ship of State was fairly launched toward the haven of unwonted prosperity.

Elected to the Senate about the last of November, 1878, and January, 1885, and January, 1891, he served his State and country in that great field of labor from the day he was sworn in in March, 1879, until stricken down by disease, a short time before his death in April, 1894. How he served, how he labored, how he bore himself in the hard-fought battles of those fifteen years, against open enemy or insidious

foe; how vigilant he was to protect the liberties of the people and defend the fair name of his own constituents and their brethren of the South; how by incessant toil, day and night, which caused him the loss of an eye and then shortened his days, he mastered the great questions of the tariff and finance and became the recognized leader of his party on those questions; how he used the battle-axe of logic or the scimitar of irony and wit, with equal ease, as exigency demanded; how by courage, candor, and sincerity, in all he said and did, on the floor and in committee-rooms, he commanded the respect and confidence of all honest adversaries, and undoubting support of his followers; how by kindly, if bluff, courtesy and merry jest, in lobby and cloak-room, he overcame the prejudice of Northern Senators, and made personal friends of political opponents; how he enlivened the dulllest debates by unexpected sallies, neat epigrams, and witty illustrations; how his arguments were so interesting that the seats were better filled when he spoke than when others had the floor, and how crowded galleries hung upon his words; how his weight and influence in the councils of his party, in the House as well as the Senate, were ever growing; how his solemn words as he spoke for the last time, September 1, 1893, from his place in the Senate Chamber, warning the people of the country against the encroachments of the money power and its allies, sounded through the land like the tones of a fire-bell at night, are all part of the history of the times.

The eulogies of him, as orator, statesman, and man, pronounced in the Senate and House of Representatives, nine and ten months after his death, and in words well weighed, by leading men of both parties, are sufficient to satisfy his most ardent friends, and justify me fully in saying that in the opinion of his fellows he stood in the forefront of the great men of the country, and that in him passed away the most interesting personality of our day.

Governor Vance was twice married. On August 3, 1853, he was married to Miss Harriet N. Espy, daughter of a

deceased Presbyterian clergyman, a woman notable for her piety and devotion to duty. They had four sons, three of whom survived him. Their only difference in parental devotion to these boys was that he inclined to greater indulgence than she to the faults arising from inherited exuberance of spirits. His loving attention to wife and children and considerate kindness to servants were conspicuous, and attracted my attention when, as his secretary, I saw him in the bosom of his family, off duty, while our War Governor; and I was pleased to be assured by that brilliant woman, Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, a warm friend of Vance's from his Chapel Hill days, after a visit to Mrs. Vance at their home in Charlotte, that her observation agreed with mine, that great and attractive as Governor Vance was in public life, and socially, he appeared at his best, and was most attractive, *in his home*, as husband, father, and host. This wife died, after long and painful disease, November 3, 1878, during his third term as Governor, in the house on Fayetteville Street now occupied by Mr. Pulaski Cowper; and she was borne to her grave in the mountains within a month after the burial of her husband's good mother.

In 1880 he married Mrs. Florence Steele Martin, a lady who is appositely described by Representative Caruth, from her native State, as "one of the fairest, brightest, most gifted daughters of Kentucky."

His duties as Senator required him to spend most of each year in Washington, and there was his official home; but that his heart ever turned to the old North State was apparent from the pictures on the walls, the photographs of scenes and friends on the table, and the Carolina pine he planted at his door, and whose sickly life was the object of his tender care. There the humblest citizen from his State ever found him accessible to the story of his needs, and ready to help him, as he was able, whatever might be the demand of official duties upon the Senator's time. As age crept upon him, and with it a wish for rest and vacation, he sought his native mountains

for a summer home; and high up the side of the Old Black he built beautiful "Gombroon," where, with wife and kindred and friends, he enjoyed well-earned respite from toil and communion with Nature and Nature's God. There still his widow spends her summers, reminded by every rock and tree and shrub, and the great mountain itself, of her large-hearted husband, who so loved them. When not on duty in Washington, his habit was to hasten back to North Carolina. He loved his friends here too much to spend vacations in foreign travel; but in 1891, under the advice of his physician, he and Mrs. Vance, with her son (who was as a son to him), visited Europe and spent some time in travel in the countries that most interested him. But he became homesick, as he himself admitted, and returned at the expiration of a few months. In the winter of 1894 his health having become still further impaired, he was induced to go to Florida and spend some weeks in the hope that he might be benefited. This proved vain, however, and he returned to Washington, hoping that he might be able to resume his seat in the Senate; but he went home only to linger and to die.

Soon after the death of his first wife he became a communing member of the Presbyterian Church, in this city. He had long been a regular attendant upon its services. He could not but be broad and catholic in his views, and opposed to sectarian bigotry. While in earlier years his lighter conversation and occasional over-emphatic language led many to think otherwise, there was ever a strong religious element in him, and he had always a profound faith in an overruling Providence.

In politics he was, by birth and education, an ardent Whig, and so continued until the war came on. The cornerstone of the Southern Confederacy being State's Rights, and having to labor during the war to protect the rights of his State, whose Constitution and laws were largely in his keeping, he began to change his political views. Federal aggression on the rights of the States during the war, and especially upon the rights

of the Southern States during the terrible period of Reconstruction, made him realize the value of the checks advocated by Thomas Jefferson to prevent the centralization of governmental power at the National Capital; and he gradually became an earnest advocate of the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy. I doubt whether there is to be found a stronger defense and justification of the course of the Southern States in 1861, in so few words, as is to be found in an address he delivered December 8, 1886, by invitation, before the Andrew Post, No. 15, of the Grand Army of the Republic, in Boston, Mass.

I have alluded to Governor Vance's physique at the time of the Vance-Settle campaign. From the time he was a student at Chapel Hill until after he became Governor, he was slim, and weighed, perhaps, under one hundred and sixty pounds; and, after the fashion then passing away, he wore his black hair long, almost to his shoulders, and thrown back from his brow. You can so see him in the portraits of the three successive Colonels of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment in the State Library. After he passed middle age he increased in fleshiness until, before fatal disease attacked him, he weighed, probably, two hundred and fifty pounds. One of his legs was broken by a fall from an apple-tree when he was a child, and was always a little shorter than the other. A limp was avoided by having the heel of the shoe, for the foot of the shorter limb, made higher than the other; but this caused a sailor's roll or slightly swaggering gait in his walk. This seems to have been an aid to his beaming face and jovial manner when he came in the presence of his friends; and they unconsciously greeted his advent with a smile of pleasure. After middle age his hair turned gray and gradually almost white. He then wore it short, and it ever remained thick. How well it suited his large, shapely head, and how it, with his portly figure, graced his seat in the Senate! Who, by the way, that visited Washington from this State, and took his seat in the Senate gallery during the

years when Vance was a Senator, but felt proud of our representation in that body? We have seen what impression our junior Senator made. How about our senior Senator, Gen. Matt. W. Ransom, who, now full of years and honors, is spending the evening of his life in man's most wholesome and independent occupation, the tilling of the soil, the largest farmer in the State? Tall, erect, of graceful figure and handsome face, with eagle eye, polished in manners, and unsurpassed in dignity of bearing and courtesy, whether in his seat or conversing with fellow-Senators in aisle or lobby, the attention of every stranger was attracted by his distinguished appearance. His great natural ability and scholarly attainments are universally acknowledged. That without military training, he rose to the rank of a general officer in the Confederate Army, attested his skill and gallantry in war.

* * * What State, we may well ask, was so well represented in the United States Senate, from 1879 to 1895, as North Carolina? And with all due respect to present and future Senators from this State, when will she again be represented by two statesmen of such influence, reputation, and ability as Matt. W. Ransom and Zebulon B. Vance?

And oh, if he could have foreseen the grief of the people—yes, *his* people—when, on the beautiful Sunday morning, April 15, 1894, it was borne on the lightning's wings, to every city, town, and village of the State, that *Vance was dead!* The whole State was a house of mourning, as for a father or brother. No event since the surrender of the Confederate armies had so moved all the people. It was my sad privilege to serve, by the appointment of Governor Carr, as a member of a committee with Colonel Tate, Public Treasurer, and Captain Coke, Secretary of State, to hasten to Washington, and urge the family of our dead Senator to permit his body to be brought to Raleigh for burial; or, failing in that, to bring it here to lie in state in the Capitol, where he had done such glorious work for his people. Arriving at Washington in time to see his mortal body lying in

his home with face serene in death, with all signs of suffering gone, we learned that he had, years before, pointed out, to his eldest son, a beautiful spot near his old home at Asheville, in view of his beloved mountains and the French Broad River, for his grave; and we bowed to his wishes. After witnessing impressive ceremonies in the Senate Chamber, the scene of his forensic battles and triumphs, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, the President of the United States and his Cabinet, the Supreme Court and Foreign Ministers, the services being conducted by the Chaplain of the Senate and that most eloquent of divines, Rev. Dr. Moses Hoge, with an escort of leading Senators and Representatives, some accompanied by their wives, we brought his body here; and in the rotunda behind us, on a catafalque covered with flowers, it lay in state from 10:30 A. M. to 4:20 P. M. of Tuesday, the 17th; and the face of our dead Tribune was viewed by thousands, passing with bowed heads and bated breath, in continuous procession. Then, with escort augmented by other friends, we took him to Asheville for burial. From Raleigh westward every station was crowded by mourners of all ages, at the towns, in the hope of seeing his face once more, and at other places, if only to see the car in which his body lay. On hillsides, far from town or station, bonfires were burning, and men stood about them to the small hours of the night, to catch but a glimpse of the funeral train as it sped toward and through the mountains. And then the outpouring of the people in Asheville, the scene of his early labors, from cove and mountainside, with delegations from mountain towns, and Charlotte, and other distant places, the streets and roads, for two miles, from the Presbyterian Church, where the body was placed, on our arrival, to its last resting-place, so thronged with people that with difficulty the long funeral procession could move, as a crippled soldier, unable to march with the rest, having begged the privilege, tolled the bell of a little church on the wayside, out of the city. Certainly, if he could have foreseen all this, he would have known that the hearts of all the people were his again,

and possibly in fuller measure; because, for a brief space, a few had been estranged from him. Well might Senator Chandler say, after witnessing these expressions of affection and grief, that he was amazed to see that any man was so loved; and a distinguished Georgian, that not only was no man ever so loved in North Carolina, but that no man had ever been so loved in any other State.

It is said "that the greatness of most men diminishes with the distance." That it was not so with Vance, among his intimate friends and in his own home, I think I have shown. That it was not so among his neighbors in Charlotte, where he so long lived, and that they could not have been party or privy to the little estrangement alluded to, conclusively appears from an account given by the *Charlotte Observer* of his last public appearance in that city. It was on the evening of November 1, 1892, and the occasion was that Mr. Ham, a distinguished Georgia orator and wit, by invitation, addressed the citizens in the largest auditorium of the city. At the conclusion of his speech, "Vance! Vance!" was the sound which burst continuously from the immense audience, as the applause for Mr. Ham subsided, and as the noble, loved "Zeb" arose, the people went wild; old men, young men, women and children, jumped to their feet, waving handkerchiefs and hats, and cheering until the very building seemed to rock. Not a person in the house remained seated. Many stood on the benches; hats were thrown up, and such an expression of love, affection, and esteem was never shown to any son of North Carolina at any time or anywhere, as was expressed in the great ovation over Vance. On the rostrum every man rose, and following Mr. Ham's lead, all waved their handkerchiefs and cheered for fully ten minutes. It was a great demonstration, and one that did honor even to the loved Senator. As he stood on the rostrum, amid the deafening cheers of his people, he looked like a grand chieftain leading his people, and guiding them simply by his presence. It was a scene the like of which was never seen in Charlotte before.

I have said nothing about his last days and hours, when life was slowly ebbing away. No! Those scenes are too painful for a friend to revive. I will not tell his kind words of thanks to the servant who waited on him to the last, nor the affectionate jest with which he greeted a brother Senator, the last permitted to see him in life, nor of the tender parting between him and wife and son. Suffice it to say, he met the last enemy with the manly courage with which he had met all the conflicts of life.

But, I may be asked, have you not painted our hero too perfect? Had he no faults? Yes! he had his faults, as all men have. But his faults were insignificant compared with his great virtues, and could not dim the splendor of his character. And so he stands, as in loving memory we see him, *totus, leres atque rotundus*. So with Mount Pisgah, the most symmetrical of the great mountains of the Appalachian chain. Stand at its foot, and you see inequalities in the surface of its steep ascent, barren rocks and deep chasms. They mar its symmetry, in a measure, but they do not impair the grandeur of its giant forests, climbing toward its lofty top, nor hush the sound of its limpid rivulets; while to the beholder, removed afar, or but a little distance away, it stands forth a splendid product of great Nature's handiwork, sublime and beautiful.

Born May 13, 1830, and dying April 14, 1894, how much of labor well done, of duty well performed, of glory nobly achieved, in those sixty-four years of mortal life! In the admiration and gratitude of his State he will continue to live as long as North Carolina shall be a State! And in that other life, the higher life, he will live, we fondly trust, to all eternity, in that home prepared by Him who says to every son of man who has done his duty here: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

A few words about the statue itself: * * *

What does this statue represent to us? In it, when the veil shall be removed by the granddaughters of our states-

man, we shall see, as I think, Vance as he stood, erect, gallant, self-confident, but without undue self-assertion, the master of his subject and his audience, addressing his peers in the Senate of the United States, the most august arena of earth.

As we look at the statue, we shall see him as I knew him, the qualities of his great mind, soul, and heart in his beaming face and shining in every lineament of his countenance! Let us analyze those qualities. There is courage—moral and physical—inborn and augmented by three-score years of conflict with the hardships and in the battle of life. Akin to Courage, her twin-sister, Truth, will speak from his lips; Truth, which his direct mind sought as the needle the pole, and when found, it was ever part of his very life. He valued it as a priceless jewel, and his honest heart impelled him to display it to the world, for its guidance and improvement. He is speaking words of truth now. And honesty you will see, a development of truth, its expression in the life of the man as he dealt with his fellow-men, taking only what was his and freely according to others what was fairly theirs. And you can see *benignancy* and *charity* beaming from that face, tender kindness for his friends and indulgence to the faults of his adversaries (I say not enemies, for few could be enemies to one of so open and genial a nature as his); and there is *wit* and *humor*—keen wit twinkling from his eyes, and racy humor bubbling from his half-open lips. And behind them, a friend can see the playful irony with which he met the sophistry of a good-natured adversary, and the cutting sarcasm for the malicious charge of one who would traduce his people. Here again is the pose and confident power of the orator—not the elocutionist merely, but the orator, whose words carry conviction to the unprejudiced and confusion to the prejudiced hearer. And *patriotism*, too, the love of his fatherland, needing not words to give it expression, and *gratitude* to his Creator for giving him so fair a land, and a nature so richly endowed for the enjoyment of its blessings. And there you may see consciousness of

other gifts, to be used, not so much for his own glory as for the good of his State and country. In a word, we may see in his manly form and expressive face a combination of those qualities, that *virtue*, characterizing a man such as Mark Antony described Brutus to be, "the noblest Roman of them all." "His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world, 'This was a man!'"

Possibly, as ages roll by and dress and customs change, a critic, in view of Vance's eventful and successful life, may say the sculptor ought to have put a crown of laurel on his brow; but as long as the friends who knew him and their tradition of him shall live, the bushy locks will seem the better crown for his massive head. Thus he looked as we loved him, thus he looked as we buried him beneath the soil of his native county, amid the scenes from which he drank those inspirations which made him, as I said in the beginning, and confidently repeat, North Carolina's most distinguished patriot, the best beloved of her children, and in all the annals of her history the greatest of her sons.

North Carolinians, we can emulate the patriotism and other virtues for which he will ever stand here as an exemplar, though Nature has not given to us to approach him in his matchless ability.

There are two niches in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington reserved for North Carolina to fill with statues of two of her sons. Other States have filled their niches with costly statues, representing the most honored of their sons. Can North Carolina longer admit she has had no sons worthy to stand by them? Surely, no! We may not be agreed as to whose statue shall fill one of those niches; but, I think, we are all agreed that in one of them should stand a statue like unto this, but of white and purest marble, representing the face and form of Zebulon B. Vance.

Let us see to it, my friends, that this duty we owe to ourselves, and to him, is not longer deferred!

NORTH CAROLINA IN THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE.*

Upon the monument which this State has erected at the west front of the Capitol in Raleigh in perpetual memory of the fidelity to duty of the sons she sent to the front in 1861-'65 is inscribed the legend—

“FIRST AT BETHEL,
LAST AT APPOMATTOX.”

Upon the cover of the five volumes of “North Carolina Regimental Histories 1861-'65” which, compiled by veterans who were actual participants in the events they narrated, have been published and issued by authority of the State, there are stamped the above words, with the insertion between the first and last lines of the following:

“FARTHEST TO THE FRONT AT GETTYSBURG AND AT
CHICKAMAUGA.”

These claims were not made as a matter of boast. They were merely a statement of historical facts, amply supported by the testimony of eye-witnesses and documentary evidence contained in the volumes in question. There was no intention to assert that the soldiers from North Carolina were braver than those from our sister Southern States, but merely that, the fortune of war having furnished them the occasion, they were *equal to the opportunity*—only this, and nothing more.

“They saw their duty, a dead-sure thing,
And went for it, then and *thar*.”

* Report of committee appointed by the State Literary and Historical Association, November 12, 1903.

We also deemed that it was shown beyond question that North Carolina furnished to the Confederacy more troops than any other State. It can not be controverted that, owing to the foresight, practical ability, and patriotism of our great War Governor, Zebulon B. Vance, the troops from this State were the best clothed and shod, and the best cared for in the Confederacy.

The above propositions, save the last, having been controverted by Judge Christian of Virginia in a pamphlet issued by authority of the United Confederate Veterans of that State, the undersigned committee were appointed by the North Carolina Historical and Literary Society to make reply. The committee met 12 May, 1904, being the fortieth anniversary of a day which is forever memorable in North Carolina from the valor of her sons at the deadly "Horse-shoe" at Spottsylvania. With a view of placing our reply upon the testimony of eye-witnesses the work was subdivided and allotted as follows:

"First at Bethel," Major E. J. Hale.

"Farthest to the Front at Gettysburg," Judge W. A. Montgomery and Capt. W. R. Bond.

"Farthest to the Front at Chickamauga," Judge A. C. Avery.

"Last at Appomattox," Senator Henry A. London.

"Number of troops furnished by North Carolina and the number of killed and wounded," Capt. S. A. Ashe.

These articles were ready by 25 August, 1904, another glorious anniversary to North Carolina veterans, recalling the successful charge of Cooke's, Lane's, and MacRae's brigades at Reams Station 25 August, 1864, which might well be styled a "North Carolina victory." After being carefully reviewed and corrected, these six articles have been unanimously adopted by the committee as a true and modest statement of the matters therein severally treated, and they are herewith published as part of this report.

BETHEL.

Major Hale, who was at Bethel—and, indeed, continually in service throughout the war and saw its close at Appomattox—tells convincingly the story of the first battle of the war. North Carolina can well claim to have been “First at Bethel,” for this first victory for our arms was won by her sons. Not that she had the only troops there. Such has never been her claim, but more than two-thirds of the soldiers present—over 800 out of the 1,200—were hers, and without them the battle would not have been fought. The moral prestige of this first success was very great, and this State justly claims credit for her promptness in placing her troops upon Virginia soil and repulsing the first advance of the enemy. The first soldier killed in battle was Henry L. Wyatt of the “Edgecombe Guards,” Co. A, 1st N. C. Volunteers (later designated by a special act of the General Assembly “The Bethel Regiment”), who fell at Bethel 10 June, 1861. There is no claim that he was any braver than hundreds and thousands who fell ere the red curtain of war was rung down, but his death shows that at the *first* onset the men of this State were ready unto death. Neither is it denied that Captain Marr, of Virginia, was killed a few days before at Warrenton, Virginia, but that was not in battle. Wyatt was the first to fall in open fight, when troops met for the first time in battle array.

GETTYSBURG.

That the soldiers of this State went somewhat farther at Gettysburg than any others in the third day's battle is so succinctly and clearly shown by Judge Montgomery and Capt. W. R. Bond in the articles by them that it is not necessary to recapitulate. The controverted point assigned us was only as to that charge, else we could have referred to the undisputed fact that on the evening of the second day Hoke's brigade, commanded by Col. Isaac E. Avery (who lost his life

in the assault), together with Louisianians from Hays' brigade, climbed Cemetery Heights, being further than any other troops penetrated during the three days. The following inscriptions placed by the Federal Park Commissioners upon tablets locating the position and stating the services of Hoke's brigade on the second day and Pettigrew's on the third day amply vindicate the justice of our claim. (The tablets also record their glorious services upon the other two days which are omitted here).

"Hoke's Brigade.

"2 July. Skirmished all day and at 8 P. M. with Hays' brigade charged East Cemetery Hill. Severely enfiladed on the left by artillery and musketry, it pushed over the infantry line in front, scaled the Hill, planted its colors on the lunettes and captured several guns. But, assailed by fresh forces and having no supports, it was soon compelled to relinquish what it had gained, and withdrew. Its commander, Col. Isaac E. Avery, was mortally wounded leading the charge."

"Pettigrew's Brigade.

"July 3. In Longstreet's assault this brigade occupied the right center of the division and the course of the charge brought it in front of the high stone wall north of the angle and *80 yards further east*. It advanced very nearly to that wall. A few reached it, but were captured. The skeleton regiments retired, led by Lieutenants and the brigade by a Major, the only field officer left."

Judge Montgomery and Capt. W. R. Bond were both present at Gettysburg and the former has recently revisited the battlefield. Their array of proof as to the North Carolina troops is further sustained by the map of the battlefield made by the Federal Commissioners, after years of study of the ground and hearing the evidence of participants from both armies and all parts of the country. A copy of that map is published with their articles. Two other maps herein throw further light upon that historic field.

Without trenching on the ground covered by Judge Montgomery and Captain Bond and merely as testimony of what troops went where the red rain of battle fell heaviest, it may be well to recall the following facts from the official reports:

At Gettysburg 2,592 Confederates were killed and 12,707 wounded. Of the killed 770 were from North Carolina, 435 were Georgians, 399 Virginians, 258 Mississippians, 217 South Carolinians, and 204 Alabamians. The three brigades that lost most men were Pettigrew's N. C. (190 killed); Davis's Miss. (180 killed), which had in it one N. C. Regiment, and Daniel's N. C. (165 killed). Pickett's entire division had 214 killed. No brigade in Pickett's division lost as many killed and wounded as the 26th North Carolina Regiment, whose loss was 86 killed and 502 wounded, the heaviest loss of any regiment, on either side, in any battle during the war. In the first day's fight there were 16 Confederate brigades, of which 7 were from North Carolina. In Longstreet's assault, which has been miscalled by some "Pickett's charge," there were 19 Virginia and 15 North Carolina regiments, besides troops from other States.

CHICKAMAUGA.

Judge A. C. Avery, who was a participant in the battle of Chickamauga, has lately revisited that battlefield with a view to writing his very graphic article, which will have a peculiar interest because the deeds of North Carolina soldiers in the Army of the West are less widely known among us than the daring of the veterans in the Army of Northern Virginia, in which the greater part of troops from this State served. Judge Avery clearly shows that the 39th, 58th, and 60th N. C., the one on the first day and the others on the second day, achieved the farthest advance attained by our troops. This conclusion is further sustained by the locations marked on the map by the Federal Commissioners, as having been attained by the different troops. The map of Chickamauga accompanying Judge Avery's article was made under his supervision after revisiting the field. Judge Avery states that while these locations have been marked on the ground by tablets erected not only by the Northern States, but by South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Missouri,

and other Southern States, the highest point, that reached by the North Carolinians, is marked only by a wooden board nailed to a telegraph pole! Moved by this pathetic statement, the committee adopted the resolution which will be found below.

APPOMATTOX.

Senator Henry A. London, who carried the last order at Appomattox, tells tersely and clearly what he saw and heard, and is fully sustained by the statements which he quotes of Maj.-Gen. Bryan Grimes and Brigadier-General Cox, who were in command of the troops who fired the last volley. Two other members of the committee, Major Hale and Judge Montgomery, were also at Appomattox. The positions held by the troops under Major-General Grimes, who were in the front of the army and by whom necessarily the last volley was fired (the other part of the army under Longstreet, which faced Grant, in our rear, was not engaged), is shown on the map accompanying London's article herein. The ground was visited 1 October, 1904, by a special committee consisting of Hon. H. A. London, Judge W. A. Montgomery, Capt. W. T. Jenkins, and Mayor A. M. Powell, veterans of that field, and they were accompanied by W. J. Peele, Esq., chairman of the State Historical Commission, to whose patriotism and intelligent aid your committee and the Confederate Veterans are greatly indebted. The localities were identified and measurements taken, from which the excellent map of Appomattox accompanying their report was prepared, for which thanks are due to Prof. W. C. Riddick of the A. and M. College.

The article of Hon. E. J. Hale, who commanded the 75th N. C. Regiment (7th Cav.) at Appomattox shows that the cavalry made their last charge very nearly as late as the time Cox's infantry fired the last volley, and that shortly before a battery of 4 guns and 50 prisoners were captured by Roberts's N. C. Cavalry Brigade (to which that regiment be-

longed), being the very last capture made by that immortal army which had made so many.

NUMBER OF TROOPS AND LOSSES.

Capt. S. A. Ashe sustains, from a careful examination and collection of the records, that North Carolina furnished by much the largest number of troops of any State to the Confederacy. Lieut.-Gen. Stephen D. Lee (Commander in Chief of the United Confederate Veterans) in a very recent address at Asheville stated that "North Carolina furnished 22,942 more troops than any other State." If this were not so, it redounds even more to the fame of the State, for North Carolina lost, according to the official returns—as compiled in Colonel Fox's "Regimental Losses"—over 41,000 killed and wounded and died of disease according to "U. S. Official Records," while the Confederate Hand-book gives: *Virginia*, 5,328 killed, 2,519 died of wounds, 6,947 died of disease, total 14,794. *North Carolina*, 14,452 killed, 5,151 died of wounds, 20,602 died of disease, total 40,305, a number considerably in excess of that sustained by any other Southern State.

Owing to her innate modesty North Carolina, notwithstanding she furnished one-fifth of the troops of the Confederacy, fell far short of one-fifth of the 608 Generals appointed during those four memorable years. Instead of 120, our proportion according to troops furnished, we had 2 Lieutenant-Generals, 7 Major-Generals, and 26 Brigadiers, a total of 35 Generals, of whom nine were killed in battle and several others were invalided by reason of wounds. Yet we were not lacking in material. Upon the death of Major-General Pender, a superb soldier, General Lee publicly deplored that "General Pender had never received his proper rank," and in the opinion of the whole army, the hero of Plymouth, that splendid soldier, Robert F. Hoke, who was a Major-General at 26, merited the command of an army corps; and there were many others who deserved the rank of Major-General

and Brigadier-General which was given to men, certainly not their superiors, from States with a smaller proportion of troops to general officers.

But it is not to her Generals and lesser officers, capable and faithful as they were, that North Carolina should turn with her greatest pride. With tacit recognition of this truth, the State has appropriately crowned the monument raised to her gallant dead with the statue of

A PRIVATE SOLDIER,

with belted cartridge-box, and his faithful musket in hand, *on guard*, scanning the horizon, as in life, with ceaseless watching for the foe. Gen. A. P. Hill, of Virginia, when asked what troops he preferred to command, replied: "Unquestionably, North Carolinians—not that they are braver where all are brave, but, brave as the bravest, they are the most obedient to command." It was this marked trait which gave the troops from this State their pre-eminence. It was the same quality which gave to the Roman soldier his fame and to Rome the empire of the world. History shows no soldier since who more nearly resembles the legionaries of Cæsar than the North Carolina Confederate private. He displayed, together with the same intrepidity, the same uncomplaining endurance of hardship and hunger, the same unquestioning obedience to orders, and wherever the bravest officer dared to lead, there the private soldier from the plains, the valleys, and the mountains of North Carolina swept on in his long unbroken lines. They but did as they were told to do and blushed to find it fame. Thus it was that, at Gettysburg and at Chickamauga, on the utmost verge of the storm-swept sea of battle it was the bodies of North Carolina's slain that marked where highest up the bloody wave had reached and grappled with the hostile shore. Thus it was that, at Bethel, Wyatt fell in the moment of our first victory, and at Appomattox the North Carolina line, sullenly retiring, fired the last volley over the grave of the Confederacy.

But it is not only for his services during those four memorable and eventful years that the Confederate soldier should be remembered. His services to his State did not end with the surrender. Other soldiery, demoralized by a long war, have too often returned to their homes to become a standing menace to lawful authority. The disbanded Confederate soldiers at once resumed their places as citizens. Unseducd by the offers and blandishments of those who would have plundered the public, with nerves unshaken by defeat, they took their stand for law and order, and for good government and self-government. To them for the past forty years North Carolina, more than to any other source, is indebted for the peace and order which has enabled the State to rebuild its waste places and emerge from the disasters of a long war. In war and in peace, they have stood by their State, faithful alike in good and evil times, and North Carolina owes no greater debt than to the unshaken fidelity of him whose highest honor is that he was a North Carolina Confederate *Private Soldier*.

One of the most gallant leaders of the splendid soldiery North Carolina sent to the field, Col. R. T. Bennett of the Fourteenth N. C. Regiment, writes:

"We did not make this claim boastingly. The subject is far too near our hearts for vainglory. We thought the recital of these great events in which our people shared so fully and to which they gave free oblations of blood not amiss if perchance the glow of enthusiasm lingered over them. We believed our statements supported by indubitable evidence, chiefest the testimony of the faithful who traversed these fields and marked with their corpses the sad story of the death and sacrifice of our hopes. We disdain to extol our soldiers as excelling in valor the men of Virginia or surpassing in the grandeur of their sacrifice and towardliness these Knights of Chivalry.

"The trophies erected to those who sprung to immortal renown from the scene of great actions are not inscribed with poverty of praise—such is not the hymn of the ages.

"Our citizens, crowding to the front, and carving fame ere the South bled to pallor, conquered the highest elegy ever moulded by the lips of man. Upon these fields where we have staked out our

claims in the 'death gulch,' the Lottery of Battle favored our soldiers and they writ the story God has in His keeping."

Moved by the above-recited statement of the neglect to mark on the battlefield of Chickamauga the position so proudly and hardly won by North Carolina troops, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Committee.

On motion of Walter Clark:

"Resolved. That Maj. E. J. Hale, Judge W. A. Montgomery, Judge A. C. Avery, and Capt. S. A. Ashe are hereby appointed a committee who shall prepare a bill and lay it before the next General Assembly with request that it shall adopt the same, which bill shall provide for the placing of enduring but inexpensive tablets, under the direction of the Federal Park Commissioners at Gettysburg, Sharpsburg, and Chickamauga, to preserve the location of the North Carolina troops at the critical moments on those historic battlefields, and also to mark where Wyatt fell in the moment of the first victory at Bethel, and the spot where the last Confederate volley rang out the falling cause at Appomattox."

As above stated, we assert no supremacy in valor for North Carolina troops. It was their fortune to be to the front at the first victory and at the closing scene, and to ride on the crest at the critical moment of the two great critical battles East and West. On these occasions, as on all others, they knew how to do their duty. Those deeds deserve commemoration, though those who earned this great fame sought only duty's iron crown and but to do the work that lay before them. With them, as with the sons of this State in every great struggle, the motive has been duty, not display, or, as this characteristic of our people has been tersely summed up in the motto of our State, *"Esse quam videri."*

With these articles and this review and endorsement of their truthfulness by the entire committee, our last duty to our comrades is done. Generation after generation of men shall pass by and the greatest events shall lose their importance as empires shall fall and the world shall change its masters in never-ending succession. What has been is that

which shall be. But while the world stands man shall not cease to honor the memory of those who knew how to die for country so long as humanity can furnish men willing and worthy to follow their example.

WALTER CLARK, *Chairman,*

EDWARD J. HALE,

WALTER A. MONTGOMERY,

WILLIAM R. BOND,

ALFONSO C. AVERY,

HENRY A. LONDON,

SAMUEL A. ASHE,

Committee.

RALEIGH, N. C.,

18 October, 1904.

“FIRST AT BETHEL.”

MAJOR E. J. HALE.

The legend “First at Bethel” first took form in the inscription on the Confederate Monument at Raleigh. It expressed the prevailing sentiment in North Carolina, and, so far as I am aware, in the Confederacy. An illustration of this sentiment immediately after the battle will be found in the comments of leading Virginia papers.

Said the *Petersburg Express* (see page 104, Vol. I, N. C. Regiments 1861-’65):

“All hail to the brave sons of the Old North State, whom Providence seems to have *thrust forward* in the first pitched battle on Virginia soil in behalf of Southern rights and independence.”

Said the *Richmond Examiner*, the leading paper of Virginia and of the Confederacy (*ibid.*):

“Honor those to whom honor is due. All our troops appear to have behaved nobly at Bethel, but the honors of the day are clearly due to the splendid regiment of North Carolina, whose charge of bayonets decided it.”

1. The First North Carolina Regiment, commanded by Col. D. H. Hill (later Lieutenant-General), was not only the first regiment sent by the government to Yorktown to reach there (May 24th—see pages 80-81, Vol. I, N. C. Regiments 1861-’65), but it was the first regiment to arrive at Bethel (June 6th) and the only Confederate regiment there until after the close of the battle. (See reports of Colonel Magruder and Colonel Hill, pages 91-97, Vol. II, Series 1, Official Records of the War).

2. It constructed the enclosed work, or fortified camp (Hill’s report, page 93, *ibid.*), which gave protection to most

of the troops engaged, by means of which our losses were rendered nominal (Randolph's report, page 101, *ibid.*) and without which the enemy probably could not have been defeated. Colonel Hill, in his report (page 95, *ibid.*), speaking of the crisis of the battle, said:

"Captain Bridgers * * * drove the Zouaves out of the advanced howitzer battery [which had been abandoned by the troops stationed there, under orders] and re-occupied it. It is impossible to overestimate this service. It decided the action in our favor."

Colonel Magruder, in his report (page 92, *ibid.*) described the re-capture of the battery by Captain Bridgers as having been made "at a critical period of the fight." The other critical event in the battle was the assault led by Major Winthrop, General Butler's Aide-de-Camp. He was killed and his troops (1st Vermont and 4th Massachusetts, 600 men) defeated by Companies B, C, G, and H of the North Carolina regiment. Of this fight Colonel Hill said (page 95, *ibid.*):

"It completely discouraged the enemy, and he made no further effort at assault."

3. In the first hasty report which Colonel Magruder sent, from the battlefield, to the Secretary of War (page 91, *ibid.*) he said, referring to the numbers engaged on both sides:

"Ours about 1,200 engaged; 1,400 in 'all."

In his second report (*ibid.*, page 92), he said:

"Our force, all told, about one thousand two hundred men."

Colonel Hill, in his report to Colonel Magruder (*ibid.*, page 97), said:

"The Confederates had in all about one thousand two hundred men in the action."

On page 96, he said:

"There were not quite eight hundred of my regiment engaged in the fight."

On the same page he mentions, also, the presence of "a detachment of fifteen cadets from the North Carolina Military Institute." The two may be considered as equal to 800. The difference between this number (800) of North Carolinians and the total given by Colonel Magruder and Colonel Hill (1,200) represents the number of other troops at Bethel; so that North Carolina had twice as many (800) as all the other troops combined (400).

4. Colonel Hill's report (page 96, *ibid.*) gives the list of casualties at Bethel. They were seven (7) in number (including Wyatt) in his regiment, and three (3) in Randolph's Howitzer Battery. The casualties suffered by North Carolina were therefore as $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

5. Major Hotchkiss, the war historian of Virginia, says (page 140, Vol. III, Confederate Military History):

"It is generally admitted that young Wyatt was the first Confederate soldier killed in action in Virginia during the Civil War."

As Bethel was the first pitched battle of the war, Wyatt was the first Confederate soldier killed in battle in the war. Colonel Magruder, describing Wyatt's death, said in his report (page 92, Vol. II, Series 1, Official Records of the War):

"Henry L. Wyatt is the name of this brave soldier and devoted patriot. He was a member of the brave and gallant North Carolina regiment."

The word "first," then, used in connection with the victory at Bethel, the first pitched battle of the war, and descriptive of North Carolina's achievements and losses there, may be said to refer with truth to these facts, viz.:

1. Her First Regiment of Volunteers was the first to arrive at Bethel.

2. Her troops were first in the work done there.

3. Her troops were first in numbers there, being as 2 to 1.

4. Her losses were first in number there, being $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

5. It was a member of her regiment there who was the first to fall in battle in the war.

The writer, who was present at the Battle of Bethel, notes that Judge Christian makes another complaint under this head. He complains (page 7 of his pamphlet) that, on page 123 of Volume I, "North Carolina Regiments 1861-'65," the claim is made "that one of the effects of the fight made by the 'Bethel Regiment' was the 'possibly holding Virginia in the Confederacy'"; and he declares this to be the "unkindest cut of all" at Virginia.

The words "possibly holding Virginia in the Confederacy" occur in the "Conclusion" to the history of "The Bethel Regiment, The First North Carolina Volunteers," and are one of a number of summary deductions from the preceding text. The words complained of were a legitimate deduction from the statements made by Major Jed Hotchkiss, the author of the Virginia Volume (III) of the "Confederate Military History," describing therein the condition of affairs in Virginia at the time, and some of which statements are reproduced in the history of "The Bethel Regiment" on pages 80-81. One of these statements by Major Hotchkiss (page 128, Vol. III, Confederate Military History) is as follows:

"D. G. Duncan, the special agent of the Confederate Government, from Richmond, reported to Secretary of War L. P. Walker that intelligent and distinguished men in Richmond 'believed Virginia on the very brink of being carried back, and say no man but President Davis can save her.'"

[That was May 7th, *ibid.*, page 129.]

Another of the statements made by Major Hotchkiss (page 129, Vol. III, Confederate Military History) is as follows:

"From Richmond, on the 11th [of May], Rev. Dr. W. N. Pendleton, of Lexington, Va. (afterward Captain of the Rockbridge Artillery, and later Colonel and Brigadier-General of artillery), wrote to President Davis: 'As you value our great cause, hasten on to Richmond. Lincoln and Scott are, if I mistake not, covering by other demonstra-

tions the great movement upon Richmond. Suppose they should send suddenly up the York River, as they can, an army of 30,000 or more; there are no means at hand to repel them, and if their policy shown in Maryland gets footing here, it will be a severe, if not a fatal blow. Hasten, I pray you, to avert it. The very fact of your presence will almost answer. Hasten, then. I entreat you, don't lose a day.' "

Another statement made by Major Hotchkiss (pages 129-130, *ibid.*) is as follows:

"Maj. Benjamin S. Ewell, in command of the Virginia militia at Williamsburg, wrote on the 11th [of May] to Adjutant-General Garnett that a better disposition to volunteer in the service of the State had been evinced by the citizens of James City, York, and Warwick, and he hoped to be able to report within a week five or six companies mustered in and doing camp duty; that in Elizabeth City County volunteers and militia numbered about 600 men, so that about 1,200 could be raised on the peninsula. He asked for arms and a battery of field pieces for these men, and for cadets to drill them. In a private letter of the same date, Major Ewell informed General Lee that there was a disaffection in the Poquosin Island section of York County, from which there had been no volunteers, and it might be well to give him authority to call out the militia of the Sixty-eighth Regiment from that section if found necessary."

Another statement of Major Hotchkiss (page 131, *ibid.*) is as follows:

"Brig.-Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, of the Massachusetts militia, was assigned, on the 22d of May, to the command of the 'Department of Virginia,' with headquarters at Old Point Comfort, and nine additional infantry regiments were sent to that place."

Another statement by Major Hotchkiss (page 131, *ibid.*) is as follows:

"Major Cary reported to Colonel Ewell at Williamsburg, that this demonstration [by a Federal regiment against Hampton, on May 23d] indicated the propriety of removing his camp farther from Hampton, where the people had responded indifferently to his call for aid in erecting intrenchments."

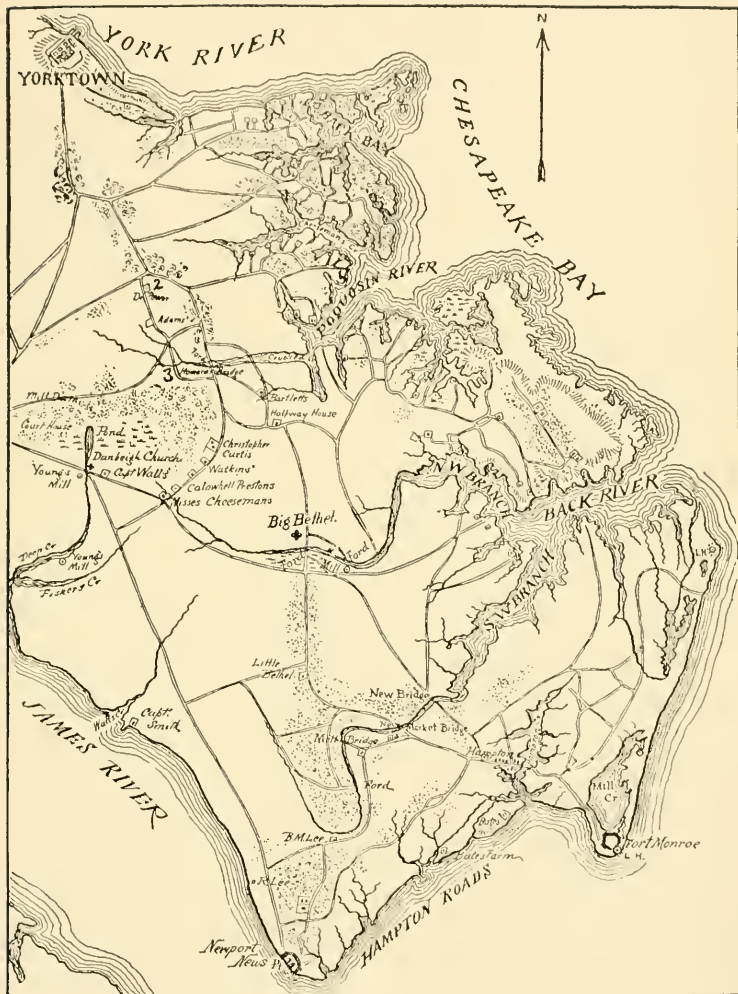
These statements, made by Major Hotchkiss, the authorized war historian of Virginia, were accepted as mere historic

facts and treated accordingly. In reproducing them from Major Hotchkiss' Virginia history, no reflection, of course, was intended upon the patriotic State of Virginia. The victory at Bethel re-shifted the theater of war from the peninsula to the Washington line of approach to Richmond, and nothing more was heard of the disaffection reported by Major Hotchkiss.

If, then, the First North Carolina Regiment was the chief factor in gaining this victory, the words "possibly holding Virginia in the Confederacy," applied to its work there, was a legitimate deduction from Major Hotchkiss' history.

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.,

25 August, 1904.



BATTLE OF BETHEL, 10 JUNE, 1861.

“FARTHEST TO THE FRONT AT GETTYSBURG.”

JUDGE W. A. MONTGOMERY.

From the hour when General Lee, riding with General Longstreet at the head of the First Corps for the concentration of his army at Cashtown, apparently calm and confident, but really deeply anxious and depressed, whether for the unfortunate absence of the cavalry or because of his need of General Jackson's counsel, heard with amazement the guns of A. P. Hill in conflict with those of the enemy toward Gettysburg, discussion, contention, disputation over almost all of the important parts taken by the different bodies of the troops and the conduct of those in command of them in the battles which immediately followed, have been legacies ever in present enjoyment.

That such has been the case is not a matter for surprise, for the Confederacy received its death wound at Gettysburg, notwithstanding it made afterwards through its armies great and heroic displays of strength on other battlefields, notably Chickamauga, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor; and it was almost natural to expect that there would be disparagement of the conduct of some and an undue extolling of that of others in the effort to fix the responsibility of failure.

North Carolinians, continuously, from the moment when the assault under General Longstreet's direction on the Union forces upon Cemetery Ridge was made, have claimed that in that assault the troops from their State went “farthest to the front.” There has been controversion, all along, by Virginians, of that claim, and at no time, nor by any one, has the denial been so strongly stated as by Judge Christian in “An

Official Report of the History Committee of the Grand Camp Confederate Veterans, Department of Virginia," published under the auspices of that society.

In the pamphlet, too, as might have been anticipated, the honor which North Carolinians think themselves entitled to, the author insists is the rightful due of Virginians, won by Pickett's division. The style of the author is clear and elegant, and the spirit in which he wrote admirable.

We would approach the subject in a similar temper, with no hope, however, of emulating the style and eloquence of the distinguished writer. Nevertheless, upon a review of the matter and after an examination of all accessible information, it is thought that North Carolinians ought not to recede from the position they have all along taken. They are aware that their assertion is valueless without sufficient and competent evidence to support it; and they recognize, also, that not only is the burden of proof upon them, but that they are met *in limine* with the adverse official report of General Longstreet and the opposing writings (subsequent) of Colonel Taylor, General Lee's chief of staff (Four Years with General Lee), and General Long, at that time General Lee's Military Secretary (Memoirs of Robert E. Lee), and Colonel Alexander, Director of Confederate Artillery on that day. (Letter to the Southern Society Papers, Vol. IV). From all these sources, except Colonel Alexander's letter, it is made to appear that Heth's division commanded by Pettigrew, and Lane's and Seales' brigades under Trimble, as a second line, were repulsed and driven from the field in disorder, and that Pickett with his division was left alone to make the charge. Colonel Alexander thought that Heth's division went in on Pickett's *right* and too late to accomplish anything.

Colonel Taylor, after reciting that Heth's division faltered and finally retired, and mentioning other embarrassments of Pickett's division, continued:

"In spite of all this it (Pickett's division) steadily and gallantly advanced to its allotted task. As the three brigades under Garnett,

Armistead, and Kemper approached the enemy's lines a most terrific fire of artillery and small arms is concentrated upon them; but they swerve not—there is no faltering; steadily moving forward, they rapidly reduce the intervening space and close with their adversaries; leaping the breastworks, they drive back the enemy and plant their standards on the captured guns, amid shouts of victory."

General Long in his book, after relating that Heth's division under Pettigrew had fallen back in disorder, and that on that account Scales and Lane were compelled to fall back, while Wilcox, perceiving that the attack had gone hopeless, had failed to advance, said that Pickett's men were left to continue the charge alone. Then he recites the advance of the Virginians, their leaping the breastworks and planting their standards on the captured guns with shouts of victory. And he goes on:

"Now was the time that they (the supporting columns) should have come to the aid of their victorious comrades; but, alas! Heth's division which had behaved with great gallantry two days before, had not been able to face the terrible fire of the Federal lines; whilst the other supports were too remote to afford timely relief. * * * On every side the enemy closed in on Pickett's brigade, concentrating on them the fire of every gun on that part of the line."

Colonel Alexander wrote:

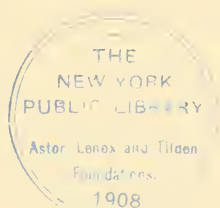
"As soon as it was clear that Pickett was 'gone up' I ceased firing, saving what little ammunition was left for fear of an advance by the enemy. About this time General Lee came up to our guns alone and remained there half an hour or more speaking to Pickett's men as they came straggling back and encouraging them to form again in the first cover they could find. A little before this Heth's division under Pettigrew had been advanced, also, but I can not recall the moment or the place where I saw them, but only the impression on my mind as the men passed us that the charge must surely be some misapprehension of orders, as the circumstances at the moment made it utterly impossible that it could accomplish anything, and I thought what a pity it was that so many of them were about being sacrificed in vain. It was intended, I believe, that Pettigrew should support Pickett's *right* flank, but the distance that had to be traversed in the charge got such an interval between the two that Pickett's force was spent and his division disintegrated before Pettigrew's got under close fire."

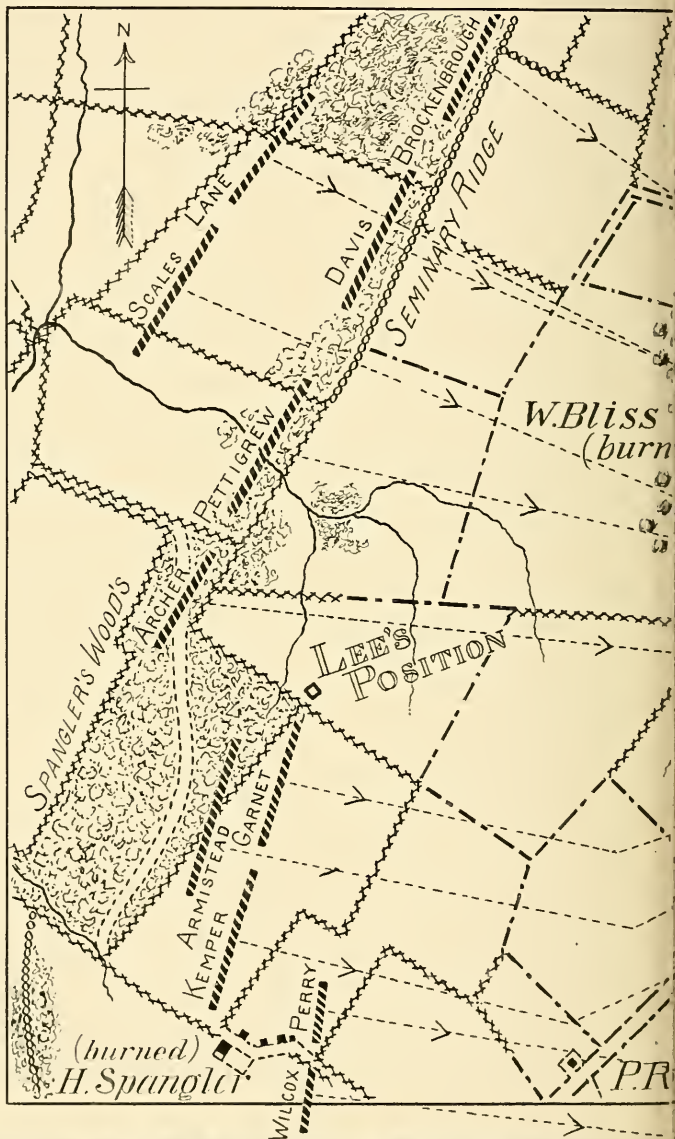
And what General Lee said in his official report must also be added. He there said:


"Owing to this fact [the lack of artillery support], which was unknown to me when the assault took place, the enemy was enabled to throw a strong force of infantry against our left; already wavering under a concentrated fire of artillery from the ridge in front and from Cemetery Hill on the left, it finally gave way, and the right, after penetrating the enemy's lines, entering his advanced works, and capturing some of his artillery, was attacked simultaneously in front and on both flanks and driven back with heavy loss."

If the foregoing accounts of Longstreet's assault are in fact true accounts, then of course there is nothing in the claim of North Carolinians that they went "farthest at Gettysburg"; but on the contrary, they did not maintain their former good reputation for courage and discipline. It is insisted, though, with great respect for the high authority from which they emanated, that those accounts are not founded on the facts. It is believed that there is, and has been, evidence at hand to show that those statements were based neither on positive knowledge nor upon correct information; that the North Carolina troops behaved with the greatest gallantry and that they went "farthest to the front." Before that evidence is introduced, however, analyses of those accounts will clear the matter of many difficulties.

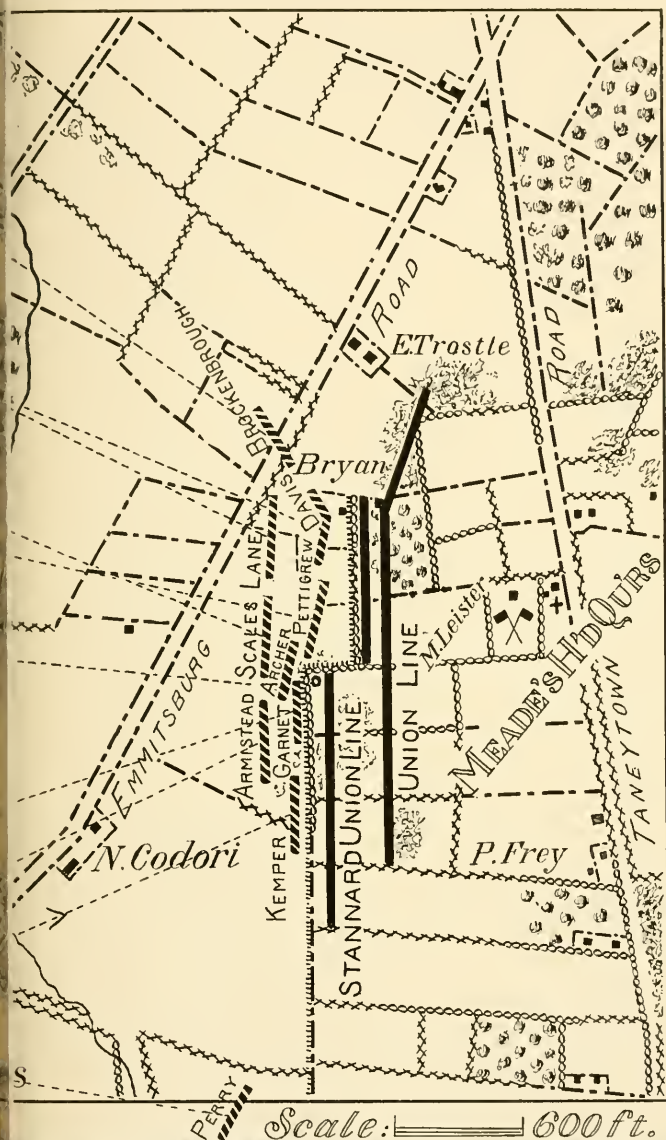
Of course, General Lee's official report is of vast importance. It is to be remembered, however, that his position during the battle was at the edge of Spangler's woods, from which Pickett's division commenced its advance, a mile from the line of Webb's and Smyth's brigades where the assaulting column struck the Federal forces. The smoke of battle and the distance from the collision prevented him from seeing what was actually going on there. Major Schiebert, an artillery officer of the German Army, then on a visit to General Lee's headquarters, in a letter published in the *Southern Historical Papers*, Vol. V, wrote that he was in the top of a very tall tree watching the battle, and that General Lee came to the tree twice and asked him about the movements of the





Confederate Lines 

FIELD OF LONGSTREET'S ARMY



Federal Lines

GETTYSBURG, JULY 3, 1863.

enemy. General Lee had to rely on the reports of his officers, and it is most reasonable to conclude that he based his report upon that of General Longstreet, who was in charge of the movement, re-enforced as that report was by others of one or two of the officers of Pickett's division, particularly that of Colonel Peyton, in command of Garnett's brigade after that officer had fallen.

In after years General Longstreet, no doubt after careful study of all the facts and after having revisited Gettysburg, altered his views about the North Carolina troops, and in his book, "From Manassas to Appomattox," published in 1896, corrected his official report. In the report he said:

"Major-General Anderson's division was ordered forward to support and assist the wavering columns of Pettigrew and Trimble. Pickett's troops after delivering fire, advanced to the charge, and entered the enemy's lines, capturing some of his batteries and gained his works; about the same moment the troops that had before hesitated, broke their ranks and fell back in great disorder. * * * This gave the enemy time to throw his entire force upon Pickett with a strong prospect of being able to break up his lines or destroy him before Anderson's division could reach him, which would in its turn have greatly exposed Anderson. He was, therefore, ordered to halt. In a few moments the enemy, marching against both flanks and the front of Pickett's division, overpowered it and drove it back, capturing about half of it who were not killed or wounded."

This is what he afterwards wrote in his book:

"The enemy's right overreached my left and gave serious trouble. Brockenbrough's brigade went down, and Davis', in impetuous charge. The general order required further assistance from the Third Corps if needed, but no support appeared. General Lee and the corps commanders were there, but failed to order help. Colonel Latrobe was sent to General Trimble to have his men fill the line of the broken brigades, and bravely they repaired the damage. Trimble mended the battle of the left in handsome style, but on the right the massing of the enemy grew stronger and stronger. Brigadier-General Garnett was killed; Kemper and Trimble were desperately wounded; Generals Hancock and Gibbon were wounded. General Lane succeeded Trimble, and with Pettigrew held the battle of the left in steady ranks."

Of course, it is not to be thought that Colonel Taylor or General Long could make any statement about the assault except upon information deemed by him reliable. They were not present on the firing-line; and it was impossible, therefore, for them to have seen what was actually going on there. Major Jones, who commanded Pettigrew's brigade after Colonel Marshall was killed, wrote, a few days after the battle:

"The smoke was dense, and at times I could scarcely distinguish my own men from Pickett's, and to say that any one a mile off could do so is utterly absurd."

Their accounts of the nature of the artillery fire upon Pickett's division show that they wrote without actual knowledge of the matter. Colonel Peyton said in his official report:

"Up to this time (when within one hundred yards of the rock fence) we had suffered but little from the enemy's batteries, which had been apparently much crippled previous to our advance, with the exception of one on the mountain about one mile to our right which enfiladed nearly our entire line with powerful effect, sometimes as many as ten men being killed or wounded by the bursting of a single shell."

General Hunt, who had charge of the Federal artillery on that day, in an article published in the January (1887) number of the *Century Magazine*, says:

"I had counted on an artillery cross-fire that would stop it (Pickett's division) before it reached our line, but, except a few shots here and there, Hazard's batteries were silent until the enemy came within canister range. They had, unfortunately, exhausted their long-range projectiles during the cannonade, under the orders of the corps commander, and it was too late to replace them. Had my instructions been followed here, as they were by McGilvery, I do not believe that Pickett's division would have reached our lines. We lost not only the fire of one-third of our guns, but the resulting cross-fire, which would have doubled its value."

Colonel Alexander took position on the right and in rear of Pickett's advance. No comment is necessary in connection with his account of the assault as to the part taken by Heth's

division, further than to say that that division formed on the left of Pickett's, and was never expected to form on Pickett's right; that the troops which Colonel Alexander saw on the right were Wilcox's brigade going into the battle and in support of Pickett, and that Virginians would not be willing to accept the statement that Heth's division *went to close work* with the enemy after Pickett's men had "gone up."

Before reciting the evidence going to show that North Carolinians went farthest to the front at Gettysburg and taking up the discussion of that matter, it is necessary to describe the assailed portion of the Union line on Cemetery Ridge and to locate and identify the troops which defended the position. The ridge extends from the cemetery, south toward Round Top, two miles away, and along its upper western slope there ran a stone fence. The course of this fence was not an unbroken straight north and south line. For several hundred yards from its southern terminus it ran due north, then turned due east (the space enclosed being called the "angle") 80 yards, and then turned again due north for several hundred yards to the Bryan barn; that is, that part of the rock wall in front of the right of the column of attack stood forward about 80 yards, while that part of the wall in front of the left of the column of attack receded inwardly, giving to the enemy's line of defense an *echelon* formation. The Confederate line when it reached the near proximity of that wall exactly equalled its entire length. Posted behind the east side of the rock wall were the troops of the Second Corps (Hancock's).

From the vertex of the "angle" to the southward along the wall was the second division commanded by Gibbon, with Webb's brigade on the right, then Hall's, then Harrow's. Along the receding wall from the point where it turned due north was the second brigade of the third division, and then to the north along the wall the third brigade of that division. The second brigade was commanded by Colonel Smyth and the third by Colonel Bull, Willard having been killed the day

before, and Colonel Sherrill in the present action. Webb's right regiment, the Seventy-first Pennsylvania Volunteers, facing to the west (from which course came the Confederate advance), had its right resting upon the vertex of the "angle." On the left of the Seventy-first Pennsylvania was the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers. The objective point in the Federal line, *i. e.*, the point to which the center of the column of attack, the left of Pickett's and the right of Heth's division (the latter commanded by Pettigrew), was directed, was a cluster of chestnut-oak trees that stood inside the Union line a little to the rear and left of the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers. Pickett's division assaulted the three brigades of Gibbon's division; and General Armistead, after Pickett's men had reached the wall, with a hundred or more Virginians, broke through, and over, the wall in front of Webb and reached a point 33 yards beyond, where he fell mortally wounded, and his followers killed or driven out. General Webb, in his official report, stated that only a part of the Seventy-first Pennsylvania was driven from the wall and that the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania and a part of the Seventy-first Pennsylvania held their positions at the wall. General Gibbon said that the whole front line of Webb was driven back. Numerous North Carolinians of Pettigrew's and Scales' and Lane's brigades, and some of Archer's Tennesseans, have since the battle claimed that they entered the salient also. But this writer has found no such statement embodied in any of the official reports. The right of Heth's division was at and a little to the south of the vertex of the "angle." The three North Carolina brigades—Pettigrew's commanded by Colonel Marshall until he was killed, and then by Major Jones; Lane's and Scales'—assaulted Smyth's brigade along its entire front and a part of Willard's posted behind the receding wall 80 yards to the east of the wall behind which Webb with his brigade and the other brigades of Gibbon's division were posted. For the purposes of this article it makes no difference whether Pettigrew's brigade of the first

line, or Scales' or Lane's of the second line, in succession or commingled in one line, made the assault on Smyth's brigade. And to digress slightly, it may be as well to add that there was a confusion and commingling of the various commands at and around the vertex in front of Webb. Captain Owen, of Garnett's brigade, in an article in the *Philadelphia Weekly Times* (1881), wrote:

"A hundred yards from the stone wall the flanking party on the right, coming down on a heavy run, halted suddenly within fifty yards and poured a deadly storm of musket-balls into Pickett's men, double-quicking across their front, and under this terrible cross-fire the men reeled and staggered between falling comrades and the right came pressing down upon the center, crowding the companies into confusion. We all knew the purpose was to carry the heights in front, and the mingled mass, from fifteen to thirty deep, rushed toward the stone wall. * * * "

The same condition prevailed within the angle amongst the Federal troops. General Hancock in his official report, after relating that reinforcements had been brought to Webb, said:

"The situation now was very peculiar. The men of all the brigades had in some measure lost their regimental organization, but individually they were firm. In regular formation our line would have stood four ranks deep."

But to return to the main subject: It is insisted that troops of the brigades of Pettigrew, Lane, and Scales, whether in successive lines of battle or commingled in one is immaterial, did advance upon Smyth's brigade behind the receding wall beyond the line held by Webb and before Webb gave way. If they did so advance, then the presence on the right flank and rear of Webb's first line must have had as great an effect in breaking Webb's line and forcing it back as the attack in front; and if the North Carolinians continued the advance upon Smyth behind the receding wall further to the east than the point where General Armistead fell, then, not technically, but truly, North Carolinians have made good their claim that their troops "went farthest at Gettysburg." Gen-

eral Armistead was killed 33 yards to the east of and in rear of Webb's front line. Now what is the evidence to show that the North Carolinians fought at the left of the vertex of the angle, that they advanced upon Smyth's brigade behind the receding wall before Webb gave way, and that they went farther toward the receding wall than 33 yards (General Armistead having been killed 33 yards to the east of Webb's projecting line) from an imaginary extension of the rock wall in Webb's front toward the north? Colonel Shepard, who commanded Archer's brigade, the right brigade of Heth's division, in his official report said that before the advance was half made his brigade and that of Garnett's, the left of Pickett's division, were in touch, and that afterwards when the line reached the rock wall the line seemed to have melted away until there was little of it left, and that four of his regimental flags were captured at the works. That account placed Archer's brigade in front of Webb. Next to Archer on his left was Pettigrew's brigade, reinforced by Lane and Scales.

Major Jones of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, then in command of Pettigrew's brigade, in his official report stated that, "The brigade dashed on and many *had reached the wall* (italics the writer's) when we received a deadly volley from the left." Major Jones did not have reference to the projecting wall in front of Webb, but to the receding wall in front of Smyth. In a letter written by him within the same month of the battle to the father of Colonel Burgwyn (Colonel Burgwyn having been killed in the first day's battle), and published early in 1864 in the *Fayetteville Observer*, he wrote that the color-bearer of his regiment was shot down while attempting to plant the flag on the wall.

"I know [he further wrote] we went as far as he [Pickett] did, and, I can safely assert, some distance beyond, owing to the shape of the enemy's works, which ran backward in my front in the form of a curve, and which compelled us to go beyond where Pickett's men were already at their works in order to reach them ourselves."

Colonel Lowrance, in command of Scales' brigade (General Scales having been wounded in the first day's battle), who went in just where Pettigrew's brigade did, said in his official report that he went forward until the right of the brigade touched the enemy's line of breastworks, as they marched in a rather oblique line. He further said:

"The two brigades (now reduced to mere squads, not numbering in all 800 guns) were the only line to be seen on that vast field, and no support in view."

General Lane in his official report said:

"The men reserved their fire, in accordance with orders, until within good range of the enemy, and then opened with telling effect, repeatedly driving the cannoneers from their pieces, completely silencing the guns in our immediate front, and breaking the line of infantry which was formed on the crest of the hill. We advanced to within a few yards of the stone wall, exposed all the while to a heavy raking artillery fire from the right."

In an article published in Vol. V of North Carolina Regiments 1861-1865, and written by Maj. W. M. Robbins, Major of the Fourth Alabama Regiment, and one of the Gettysburg Battlefield Commissioners since March, 1894, it is said:

"And while Armistead and his heroic followers were over in the angle, where were Pettigrew's thin but gallant battalions? They were making a desperate effort to storm the high stone wall 80 yards east of the angle, and were being mowed down like grain before the reaper by the double line of infantry behind that wall. A few men reached it, but finding it too high to leap over, could do nothing but surrender * * * I have also stated whither and how far the faithful veterans of Trimble and Pettigrew advanced, which was near the high stone wall before mentioned, 80 yards farther east than the angle and to the left and northward of the spot where the noble Armistead fell. Does any one doubt the accuracy of that statement? If so, I must suggest the undisputed fact that the best proof where a line of soldiers went to is where they left their dead; and where that was in this case is established beyond question by multitudes of disinterested witnesses."

There is strong confirmatory evidence from the Union side of that which we have introduced above.

Colonel Bachelder, one of the first of the Gettysburg Battlefield Commission, and who was thoroughly acquainted with the topography, and the movements of the troops as well, wrote:

"The left of the column continued to move on toward the second wall, threatening the right and rear of Gibbon's division, which held the advanced line. General Webb, whose brigade was on the right (in the projection), had hurried back to bring up his right reserve regiment from the second line. But before this could be accomplished the first line broke under the tremendous pressure which threatened its *front and flank* [italics the writer's], and fell back upon the reserve."

Colonel Smyth, who was in command of the second brigade behind the receding wall, said in his official report:

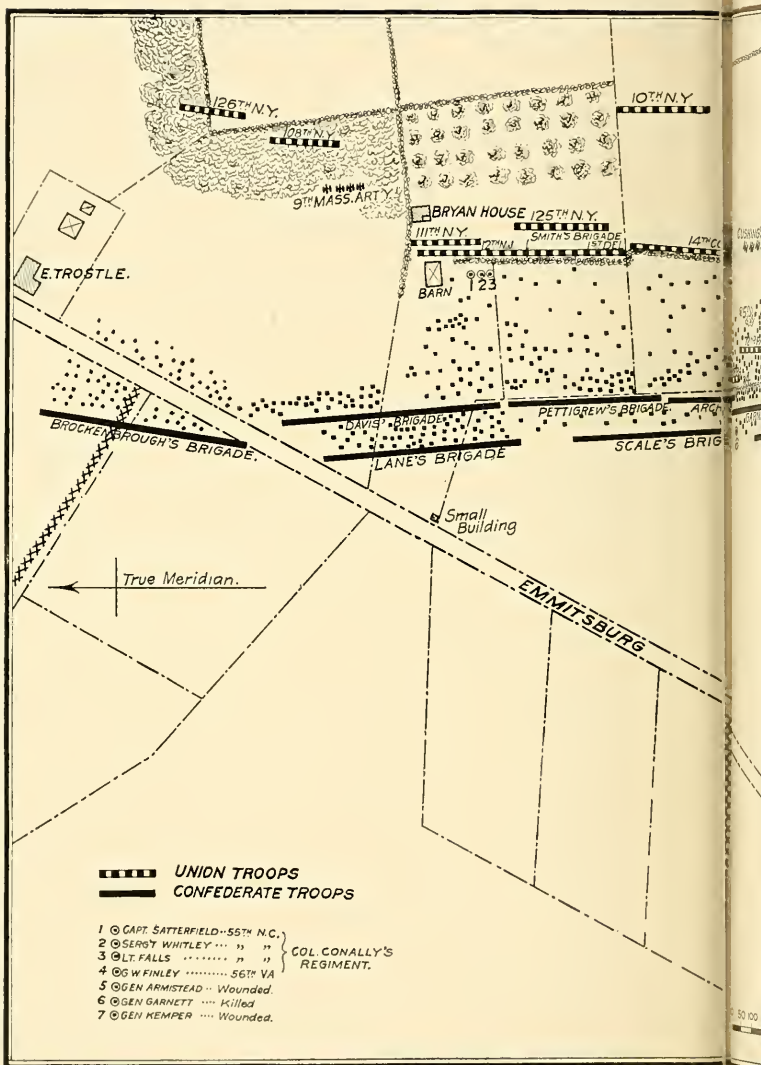
"My men were directed to reserve their fire until the foe was within 50 yards, when so effective and incessant was the fire from my line that the advancing enemy was staggered, thrown into confusion, and finally fled from the field."

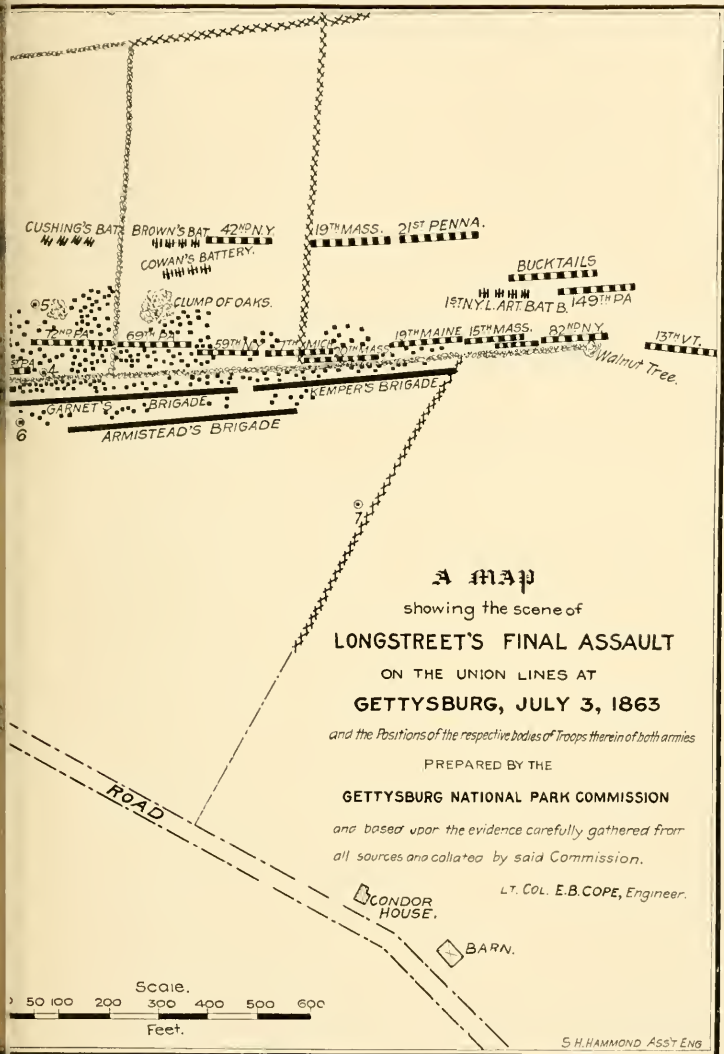
And Colonel Swallow, in the *Southern Bivouac* for February, 1886, wrote that while he "lay wounded with General Smyth at Gettysburg, that officer told him that Pettigrew's brigade all along his front were within 30 or 40 feet of his line and fought with a fury and determination that he had never seen equalled."

From the above evidence it is submitted without further comment that the claim of North Carolinians that their troops went "farthest to the front at Gettysburg" is well sustained.

Our people, however, do not wish, in making their claim, to be understood as intending to depreciate the achievements of others on that memorable field. That would be both unjust and selfish.

Indeed, if it were needed to here set down in print an account of the heroism of Pickett's men and the grandeur of





A MAP
 showing the scene of
LONGSTREET'S FINAL ASSAULT
 ON THE UNION LINES AT
GETTYSBURG, JULY 3, 1863
 and the Positions of the respective bodies of Troops therein of both armies
 PREPARED BY THE
GETTYSBURG NATIONAL PARK COMMISSION
 and based upon the evidence carefully gathered from
 all sources and collated by said Commission.
 LT. COL. E.B. COPE, Engineer.

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1903

their charge on that fateful day, words, however eloquent, would be inadequate to express their meed of praise. No nobler people ever inhabited any spot of our globe than the Virginians of 1861-'65; no people in the annals of all history, not even the Dutch under the influence of their great William in the terrible Spanish Invasion, ever bore themselves more majestically, more courageously, and more unselfishly than did the Virginians under their great Robert E. Lee in the four years of the War Between the States. And were not the Confederate soldiers from that State of the same flesh and blood of its citizenship and children of the great Mother Commonwealth? And what could be expected of them but that they would follow their great leader in the path of duty, even though it led to and through the Union line of battle on Cemetery Ridge?

RALEIGH, N. C.,

25 August, 1904.

LONGSTREET'S ASSAULT AT GETTYSBURG.

LIEUT. W. R. BOND,

AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL DANIEL.

The distinguished author of "New York at Gettysburg" says:

"Longstreet's assault on the third day had some slight resemblance of success when Armistead and his men crossed the wall—just enough to divert attention from the utter hopelessness of the attempt and relieve the affair from the odium of an inexcusable error. But the slight success of the Confederates would not have been possible but for the mistake of placing a battery on the front line at the angle. It was through this and at no other place that an entrance was made. Had there been a strong force of infantry on that portion of the line, not a Confederate would have crossed the wall. The storm of bullets would have beaten them back there the same as at every other point of the line. The grand cannonade was a dramatic incident that has unduly magnified the operations of the third day. It was a piece of noisy Chinese warfare that accomplished nothing."

General Meade, who characterized the assault as a "mad" and reckless movement, was censured in certain quarters for not having made a return attack after the repulse, and his chief of artillery, General Hunt, though he had no special liking for him, came to his defense by saying "an advance of twenty thousand men from Cemetery Ridge in the face of one hundred and forty guns there in position would have been stark madness."

The strength of the assaulting column was very little if any more than one-half of twenty thousand, and had Hood's and McLaw's divisions been added it would not have exceeded that number. Gen. Fitz. Lee, who unjustly holds General Longstreet responsible for the column being as weak as it was, says:

"Why, if every man in that assault had been bullet-proof and they had arrived unharmed on Cemetery Ridge, what could have been

accomplished? Not being able to kill them, there would have been time for the Federals to have seized, tied, and taken them off in wagons before their supports could have reached them."

As to this last extract, the words are of course exaggerated, but the idea conveyed in it, as in the others, is that, in the nature of things, the attack could not possibly have succeeded. How different all this from the early accounts by such crude historians as Pollard and Swinton. These writers give the impression that this last attack was repulsed and the battle lost because the North Carolina troops when "weighed in the balance were found wanting." Their unjust and cruel reflections upon the best troops in the best army of the Confederacy were everywhere, outside of North Carolina, accepted as true. But even the authority of the great St. Paul could not have convinced the Tar Heels that regiments which had suffered as enormously as theirs could ever have behaved badly. Why, there was one company in the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment with three officers and eighty-four men. All three of the officers and eighty-three of the men were killed or wounded. There was one in the Eleventh North Carolina Regiment with three officers and thirty-eight men. Two of the officers were killed and thirty-four of the men were struck, and the color company of the Thirty-eighth North Carolina had every officer and man hit.

"Truth crushed to the earth will rise again:
The eternal years of God are hers."

Less than forty of these eternal years of God had passed ere well-informed soldiers everywhere admitted that the assault was doomed to failure from the start. This admitted, none of the troops engaged can be held responsible for its failure. But now behold "wounded error" shifting his ground and claiming only that on that crimson field the right division acted the most heroic part. Invoking the assistance of Truth, it shall be my purpose to combat this claim.

The report of the Virginia History Committee starts out by saying many pleasant things about North Carolina soldiers, but later on it gives extracts from the official reports of officers with the intention of proving that these generous-sounding words are not precisely true words and that compliments are not always to be taken literally. One of these extracts is from the report of Colonel Lowrance of the Thirty-fourth North Carolina Regiment, who, though painfully wounded in the first day's battle, commanded Seales' brigade in the assault. The extract tells of how "troops from the front came tearing through our ranks, which caused many of our men to break, but with the remaining few we went forward until the right of the brigade touched the enemy's line of breastworks. * * * Now all had apparently forsaken us."

Commenting on the report, the address says:

"Now, the troops in front of Lowrance were Pettigrew's, and he says they gave way a third of a mile before they got to the enemy's works; but be this as it may, he nowhere says that any of his men entered the enemy's works, and none of the reports we have seen say that any North Carolina troops did this—which, as we have seen, is the real point at issue."

Comment No. 1 on this comment is that when Colonel Lowrance said that the right of his brigade "touched" the works, of course he meant it reached them. That his troops should have gotten on the other side and occupied them as a captured fort is occupied when a counter attack was to be expected would have been a rather remarkable proceeding even for that field of folly. It used to be laughingly told on that gallant old Confederate General Pillow that on a certain occasion, having carried some breastworks, he soon lost them in consequence of having placed his men on the side from which the enemy had been driven. This story, however, was only a soldier's joke. The real case was that this officer led his brigade over the works in pursuit of the enemy, and when the return attack came, his men being disorganized by their

rush, not only lost the ground they stood upon, but the works they might have held. Had this general (who served in the West) left his brigade at the works and been mortally wounded, while he and a small squad pursued the enemy, he might perhaps have been called a hero, or again perhaps he might have been an object of ridicule. No one can tell off-hand in what class he would have been placed.

With us consideration of longitude and latitude had much to do with deciding such matters.

Comment No. 2 on this comment is that it is by no means certain that all the troops in front of Lowrance's were Pettigrew's. This brigade (Lowrance's) started out in rear of Archer's, which was on Pettigrew's right, but soon Pickett's men were moved to the left, and in crossing the field Lowrance may have drifted to the right, as the close of the assault found a part of them mixed with Armistead's and Garnett's men and part with Archer's.

The Federal Colonel Hall gives the names of five flags captured by his brigade. Two of them belonged to Garnett's, two to Armistead's, and one to Lowrance's. Carroll's brigade captured one of Armistead's and one of Lowrance's; Smith's two from Archer's, one from Lowrance, and that of the Fifty-second North Carolina, the right regiment of the brigade commanded by Colonel Marshall. Twenty-eight regimental flags in all were captured. The names of many of them were not reported. Pickett's troops lost thirteen of their fifteen flags. We find in "New York at Gettysburg" this statement:

"Private Michael McDonald of this regiment (42 N. Y., Tammany) captured the flag of the Twenty-second North Carolina of Scales' brigade, whose troops were commingled with Pickett's at the angle."

And yet the address says:

"We have shown, we think, conclusively, that the Virginians did penetrate the enemy's line on the 3d of July, 1863, in the famous

charge at Gettysburg, and that the North Carolinians under Pettigrew and Trimble did not."

Returning to the comment on Colonel Lowrance's report, there is something else that tends to support the contention that the troops which broke through were not necessarily Pettigrew's, for the late General Dearing (at the time of the battle a Major of Artillery and in command of the guns which moved out with the assaulting column) shortly after this battle told a North Carolina officer, a friend of the writer, that hundreds of Pickett's men went to the rear even before a shot had been fired at them. This is mentioned as a fact and not as a reflection, as the character of a city or State is gauged by its best and not by its worst citizens, and the same rule applies to military organizations. If, when Colonel Lowrance says all had apparently forsaken them, he means that at that time the fragments of his brigade and the troops with them at, or near, the salient were the only ones left on the field, he is mistaken, for far over to the left in front of Sherrill's brigade was Lane's North Carolina; and there they remained, completely dominating the enemy in their front, till they were ordered to retire, and this order was not given till after every other Confederate organization had either surrendered or fallen back. This is the testimony of Generals Trimble and Lane and dozens of subordinate officers, and their testimony is strengthened by that of General Hancock, who in a dictated dispatch to General Meade said:

"I had to break the line to attack the enemy in flank on my right, where the enemy was most persistent, after the front attack was repelled."

Yes, Colonel Lowrance, your North Carolina comrades of the old "Light Division" were there. This is the truth, and the shadow of great names will not forever obscure it.

Judge Christian gives an extract from the report of Major John Jones, commanding Pettigrew's own brigade, in which he says: "The brigade dashed on and many had reached the

wall," etc. To have reached the stone wall on the left of the salient, they must necessarily have advanced much further than did the squad which followed Armistead across the works at the salient. They were nearer the general line of the Federal Army and literally further to the front than any troops of the right division. And when it is remembered that this North Carolina brigade, and its companion brigade, Davis's Mississippi, had fought on the first day, for numbers engaged, one of the bloodiest, if not the very bloodiest, open-field battles in the whole Civil War, had they, breasting that storm, only arrived anywhere near the wall in their front, they would have shown an endurance rarely equalled and never surpassed by any troops in Lee's army. Indeed, they would have been "the foremost in the display of the qualities of the good soldier" of all the troops upon that field.

The following is an extract from a letter written by a resident of Chicago, Maj. Charles A. Hall, who has the honor of having served in the Fifth New Hampshire, a regiment which fought gallantly at Gettysburg, and is distinguished for having during the war sustained the greatest losses in battle of any infantry or cavalry regiment in the whole Union Army:

"There is not a shadow of doubt in my mind but that the sons of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Mississippi carved on the tablet of history equal laurels with the sons of Virginia in the great events of that supreme attempt to gain victory at Cemetery Ridge. Pettigrew and Trimble deserve equal honors with Pickett, and, if we weigh with judicial exactness, more, for impartial evidence proves that they suffered in a greater degree, and forced their way nearer the lines, where pitiless fate barred their entrance. The nearest point reached by any troops was Bryan's barn; this is made conclusive by the evidence on both sides."

Found upon the tunics of the dead soldiers at the Bryan barn were buttons bearing the initials of the Old North State. As to what regiment these men belonged, though I have an opinion, I do not know positively, and do not greatly care to know. When Major Hall says "the nearest point reached,"

he of course means nearest the general line of the enemy. This gallant officer, Major Hall, is mighty good authority, for not only did he take part in the battle, but for a number of years was the proprietor of a cyclorama representing scenes from this battle and had studied the subject of his painting thoroughly.

Judge Christian devoted himself in large part to reports of officers and comments upon them. The most of these reports are so conflicting that I will not attempt to reconcile them. Well may have the great Englishman, in whose honor our Capital City was named, have once said: "Human testimony is so unreliable that no two men can see the same occurrence and give the same account of it." Should one wish to unravel the tangled skein of contradictions, he should know that positive evidence is stronger than negative. All things being equal, the man who asserts that he knows a certain act was committed because he saw it, is to be believed rather than the one who denies, and gives as his reason that he did not see it. Take, for instance, Lane's brigade. Generals Lee and Longstreet did not see these troops, and honestly believed that Pickett's men were the last to leave the field. General Lane says his people were the last to leave, and his testimony is supported by that of General Trimble, and that of the Federal General Hancock. And Lane's testimony is true, and there should not be the shade of a shadow of doubt about it.

An apology is made by Judge Christian for the comparatively small losses in killed and wounded sustained by Pickett's division, in the statement that it was natural that troops which fought only one day should not have as many killed as those who fought two days. To me, though I had never made much of a study of the influences which affect the *morale* of soldiers in and after battle, the statement did not account for the very great difference in loss, for I believed it was the exceptional and not the natural thing that there should be such a difference. However, I wished to get the opinion of Colonel Fox of Albany, on the point, as I entertained a high opinion

of his judgment concerning this and other kindred subjects. In writing I submitted to him the following proposition for his decision:

"There are two bodies of troops—A and B—of one thousand each, who fight in the same battle and meet with the same loss in killed and wounded. A fights one day and is defeated with a loss of four hundred—forty per cent; B fights, defeats the enemy, and loses two hundred and fifty—twenty-five per cent. After an interval of one day B again fights, taking in not seven hundred and fifty, but six hundred, and is then defeated with a loss of one hundred and fifty men—twenty-five per cent."

And the following is his answer:

"In reply to the proposition submitted by you, I would say that a regiment that fought the first and third days of a battle has a more heroic record in respect to its casualties than one which was in action one day only—both regiments having the same strength, and losing the same number. When a regiment that has encountered severe fighting is called upon to go into action the second or third day the men are subjected to a severe mental strain that renders their service particularly heroic in this respect. Furthermore, the percentage of loss will be greater than appears in the morning reports of the first day—because after a hard fight no regiment can carry into action again all of the survivors, no matter whether it is next day or the day after that. You have evidently noticed that after a severe battle many of the men who had acquitted themselves creditably in the fighting were incapacitated for several days, although they may not have been hit. There are no statistics covering this point, and one can only judge of its extent from personal observation. The depletion of the ranks from this cause would vary greatly in different regiments."

I knew that after a hard-fought battle, there would be stragglers: for instance, the day after the battle of Sharpsburg when our army was drawn up expecting an attack, Garnett's Virginia brigade had only one hundred in line, and Hay's Louisiana only ninety. I knew that at Gettysburg none of the slightly wounded, though unfit for duty for several days, appeared on the casualty list, and I was also aware of another fact, namely, that when the reaction comes on, after the nervous strain of battle, there will be men, as brave as any, but

with such a temperament that they will be really sick and unfit for duty for several days. But in the case submitted to Colonel Fox I allowed only one hundred and fifty of the seven hundred and fifty, or one-fifth, to cover the absentees from these three causes. It is possible that the allowance of six hundred for duty was too large; but in making the estimate I had in mind troops that were the equals of the best in the army. In the case of Pickett's troops two thousand eight hundred and sixty-three were killed, wounded, and captured. This number taken from the forty-nine hundred who entered the fight, leaves two thousand and thirty-seven. Of this number only eight hundred, or forty per cent, reported for duty on the morning of July the fifth. Yes, eighty per cent to report for duty as in the supposed case may have been too large an estimate.

Now for the comparative numerical losses sustained by certain commands:

Pickett's fifteen Virginia regiments had thirteen hundred and sixty-four killed and wounded, or ninety-one per regiment. There were two brigades in Pettigrew's division which contained eight regiments, and the number of the killed and wounded was two thousand and two, an average of two hundred and fifty to the regiment. Five of these eight regiments were from North Carolina, and their loss was thirteen hundred and three, or two hundred and sixty to the regiment. Had these North Carolina regiments lost in their two days' battle an average killed and wounded of only ninety-one, and not two hundred and sixty, even then, according to excellent authority and in good reason, their conduct would have been more heroic. In the one case the limit of endurance was reached at an average of ninety-one. In the other at two hundred and sixty. That Truth and Justice should crown the first with fame and the other with shame is preposterous. Indeed, not more absurd would it be to claim that a babe in swaddling clothes would have more force and power on a battlefield than a disciplined soldier.

Whether for the sake of political expediency or for a less honorable cause, the State of Virginia all through the Civil War was more favored by those in authority than any other member of the Confederacy. In promotions, in assignments to light and pleasant duty, in votes of thanks, in the punishment of desertions, and in every conceivable way was this favoritism shown. The discipline of her troops was less rigid than among other Confederates, and difficult and dangerous work, except in the case of Jackson's old division, was assigned to others. This was notably so with the Virginians in Longstreet's corps. After Jackson's death there were three corps, and one of them was commanded by General Ewell, who was in ill health, and it was thought he would soon retire from active service. Virginia politicians, who generally got what they wanted, wished to have General Pickett succeed him; but in a measure to justify his promotion over the heads of Generals who had "borne the heat and burden of the day" some slight military success was thought desirable to give him prestige. So it fell out that on that eventful third of July, Generals Lee and Longstreet estimating too highly the destructiveness and the demoralizing effect of long-range artillery fire, made a fatal mistake in regard to the *morale* of the Federal Army.

They doubtless believed that Cemetery Heights would be given up without a struggle. Confiding in this belief, Pickett's troops and a part of Hill's corps were selected with the expectation that they would gain much glory at small cost. That one-half the column should have been composed of Pickett's Virginians and the other half of the worst cut up troops in the army can be accounted for by no other reasonable hypothesis than that it was believed at headquarters that light work lay before them.

Some fifteen or twenty years ago among a series of historical articles which appeared in the *Philadelphia Times* was one by Col. W. W. Wood (at the time of the battle a Captain in one of Armistead's regiments), giving an account of the

action. There is good reason for believing that the author was not only a brave officer, but a truthful man. Along with other statements covering disputed points is the following:

"The order to go forward was obeyed with alacrity and cheerfulness, for we believed the battle was practically over and that we had nothing to do but march unopposed to Cemetery Heights and occupy them."

And again he says:

"From the time the charge began up to this moment not a shot had been fired at us, nor had we been able to see, because of the density of the smoke which hung over the battlefield like a pall, that there was an enemy in front of us. The smoke now lifted from our front, and there right before us, scarcely two hundred yards away, stood Cemetery Heights in awful grandeur."

Here we have it upon the best authority that Pickett's division was not fired upon till they arrived in "rushing distance." It is well known that the left of the line was subjected to a severe artillery fire from almost the very start. Many of its regiments suffered greatly before the right had lost a man, by shot or shell, for however comparatively harmless the fire of artillery may be to soldiers lying down and hugging the ground, it is very destructive when they are upon their feet. In a prize-fight the object of each pugilist is to hammer the sore spot—the weak spot. In this assault the left brigade, which had done indifferent fighting the first day, now did none at all. The enemy witnessing their conduct, naturally concluded that the left was the weak spot, and acted vigorously upon that conclusion. Davis's brigade, which came next to the Virginia brigade which had acted so ingloriously, was composed of the Second and Forty-second Mississippi, Fifty-fifth North Carolina, and Eleventh Mississippi. Three of these regiments had fought the first day, had gained a victory, but with great loss. The Eleventh Mississippi was on detached duty that day, and though it and its brigade did not go quite as far in the assault as the troops on their right, the loss in killed and wounded for this

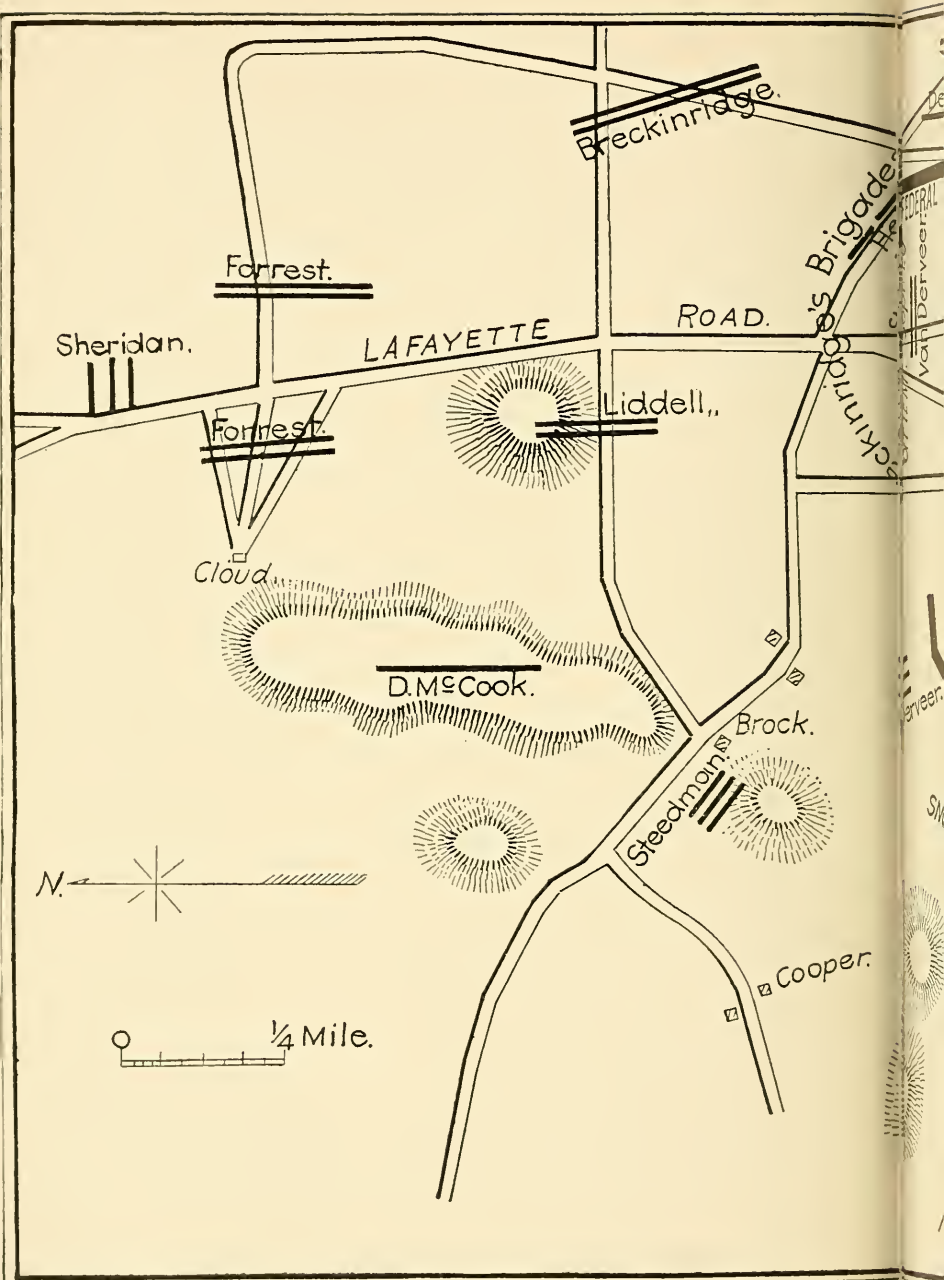
regiment was two hundred and two, which was over sixty per cent. Pickett's men had ninety-one killed and wounded to the regiment, or about twenty-eight per cent. When all things are considered—their bloody fight on the first day, their standing up so long and so manfully this day against so terrific a fire, both from flank and front (as shown by their losses)—it will be seen that it is possible that Truth may proclaim that Davis's brigade, though they did not reach the vicinity of the works, are more deserving of the palm than any other command on the field. For it is not known positively that any other brigade lost on that day so large a percentage of killed as they. As it may appear unaccountable that, while one part of the line was suffering so much from artillery, another part hardly received a shot, it will be well to mention that the Federal General Doubleday states in his history that with the exception of one piece all guns in the immediate front of the Virginia division were dismounted by our shelling, and also that the Virginia Confederate Colonel Wood says the smoke was so dense that he could not see the enemy till he came in two hundred yards of them.

If he could not see them, they could not see him and his people. Therefore, if the enemy in their front neither had the guns nor could see the Virginians if they had possessed them, it is not so wonderful they did not kill them. It will be admitted that armies are organized for the purpose of inflicting injury upon the enemies of their country, and that they and their subdivisions are to be valued in proportion to their killing capacity. Now it has been estimated that in the Civil War Southern soldiers inflicted a loss about forty per cent greater than they sustained. Therefore, if one should wish to ascertain which of the different organizations of the Army of Northern Virginia gave the best evidence of fidelity and efficiency, let him consult the casualty lists, contained in the "*Official Records*" published by the United States Government. In these he will find no partisanship, no sickly senti-

ment, and no effort to make the wrong appear the right; but he will find a true story plainly told.

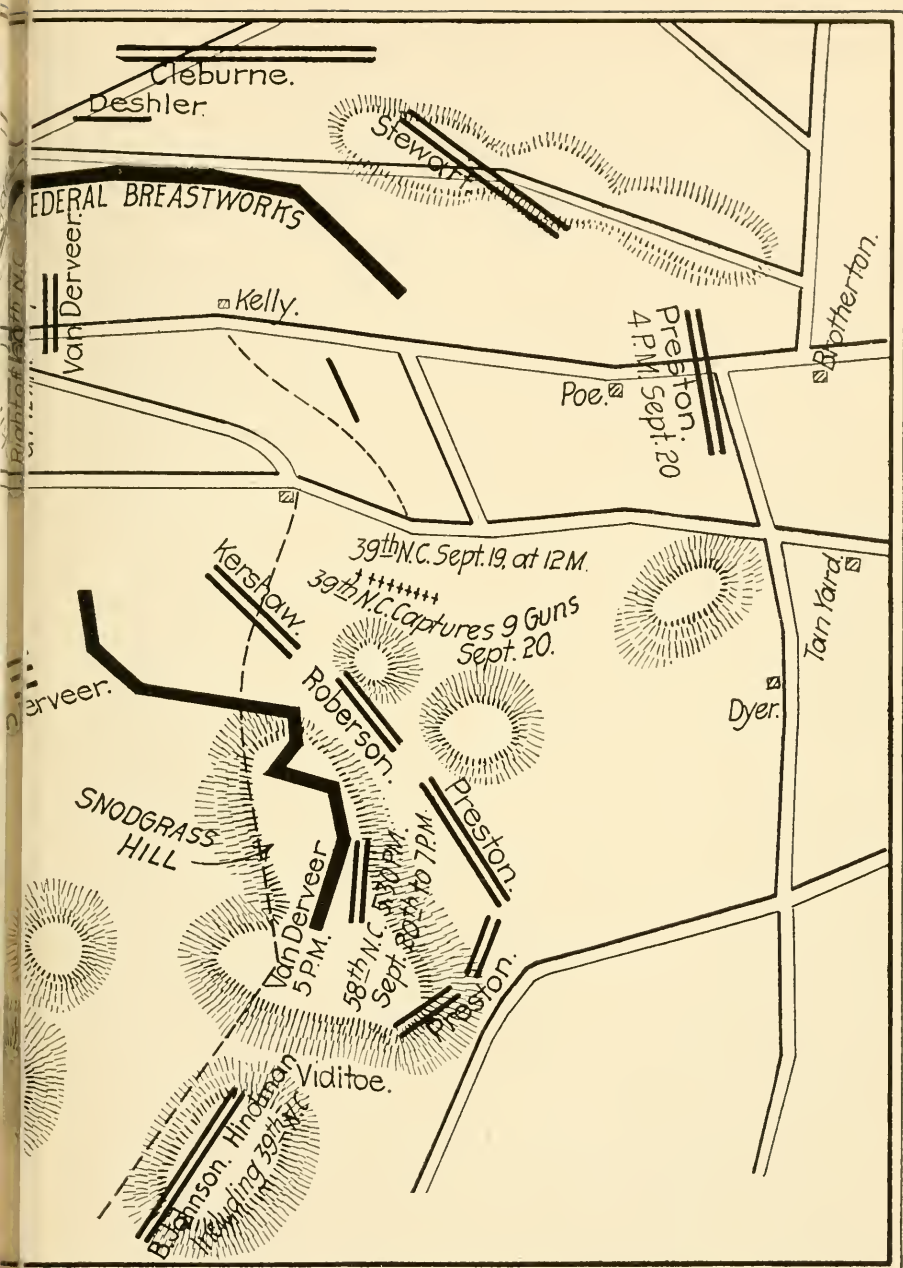
And now in conclusion, I will say that to thoughtful and unprejudiced readers the strength of the evidence I have cited to prove the heroic conduct of those men in the left divisions will be, I think, the measure of their surprise and amazement that any of the comrades of these soldiers should have conspired to injure them.

SCOTLAND NECK, N. C.,
25 August, 1904.



CHICKAUGA.

MAP SHOWING POSITION OF THE 39TH, 58TH, AND 60TH NORTH CAROLINA INFANTRY AT DICK



GA.

TS AT DIFFERENT HOURS ON THE 19TH AND 20TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1863.

“FARTHEST TO THE FRONT AT CHICKAMAUGA.”

JUDGE A. C. AVERY.

North Carolina sent more soldiers to Virginia than any other of the Confederate States. The State furnished four regiments of infantry and one of cavalry to the Army of Tennessee—a smaller representation than that of any State of the Confederacy, except Virginia, which sent only two regiments of infantry—the Sixty-third Virginia of Kelly's brigade, Preston's division, and the Fifty-fourth Virginia of Trigg's brigade, same division—and Jeffries Battery of Preston's artillery battalion, though two Virginia batteries—Parker's and Taylor's of Colonel Alexander's corps—were sent with Longstreet to Chickamauga, according to the roster published in the Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXX, Part II, pages 11 to 17. Four other regiments of North Carolina infantry had seen service in Tennessee; two—the Sixty-second and Sixty-fourth—were surrendered by Frasier at Cumberland Gap, and two had been transferred to Western North Carolina. Every North Carolina regiment was assigned to a different division and no two of them fought in the same corps at Chickamauga, except the Thirty-ninth North Carolina of Johnson's division, McNair's brigade (commanded by Colonel David Coleman of North Carolina), and the Fifty-eighth North Carolina of Kelly's brigade, Preston's division, both of Buckner's corps. The Sixtieth North Carolina Regiment was in Stovall's brigade, Breckenridge's division, Hill's corps. The Twenty-ninth North Carolina Regiment fought in Ector's brigade, Gist's division, Walker's corps. The Sixth North Carolina Cavalry (65th N. C. Regiment), Col. George N. Folk, participated in the engagement on 18 and 19 September, as a part of Davidson's brigade, Pegram's division, Forrest's corps.

It was claimed by an adopted son of North Carolina, who was a Federal soldier, fighting in the brigade which confronted the Fifty-eighth and Sixtieth North Carolina when each of them made itself most conspicuous in attacking Thomas's corps at Chickamauga, that North Carolina troops reached the farthest point attained by the Confederate States' troops. The inexorable logic of the Bible is found, where it assumed that the unwilling testimony of its enemies was the highest evidence of divine truth. Scarcely less convincing ought to be a tribute from a brave but generous foe to an enemy, whose daring aroused that "stern joy which warriors feel in foemen worthy of their steel." Capt. C. A. Cilley of the Second Minnesota was detached as topographical engineer on the staff of Colonel Van Derveer, commanding a brigade of Brannon's (third) division of Major-General Thomas's (fourteenth) army corps, and was mentioned in complimentary terms in the reports of both brigade and division and corps commanders, by Colonel Van Derveer, as an officer "whose conduct for efficiency, personal courage, and at every stage of the conflict, was deserving of more than praise," and by General Brannon, for directing two Indiana regiments in successfully covering the retreat of his division. (See Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXX, Part I, pp. 423, 431, 433).

Those who have examined the battlefield of Chickamauga, and followed and studied the movements of troops, must agree that if Breckenridge's division of Hill's corps could have held the Lafayette and Chattanooga road, when Stovall's and Adams's brigades of that division crossed on the left and rear of Thomas's corps, before 12 o'clock on 20 September, 1863, the stronghold of the enemy at Snodgrass Hill would have been turned, placing Hill between Thomas and Ross-ville, and the whole Federal forces in Longstreet's front must have been in full retreat or captured before the middle of the afternoon. Had Walker's corps or Cheatham's division moved forward, as a second supporting line, closely after Hill's line, instead of being held in reserve and subsequently

sent forward in single lines to be broken in detail, such would have been the inevitable result, as was shown when the advance in two lines, just before night, forced Thomas to fall back with a loss of several thousand prisoners. In fact, Bragg's plan of battle was to gain the Lafayette road beyond Rosecrans' left (see Boynton's Chickamauga Military Park, pp. 97, 44, 45, 47).

The Sixtieth North Carolina Regiment, with the Forty-third and Fourth Florida and the Forty-seventh Georgia, composed Stovall's brigade. (See Series 1, Vol. XXX, Part II, Official Records, at p. 13, Stovall's report at p. 231, and Breckenridge's report at p. 199). This brigade, General Breckenridge said, flanked the enemy and swept down the Lafayette road, its right resting in that road and Adams's brigade extending the line beyond it. General Breckenridge, describing the situation at the time, said:

"Stovall's brigade gained a point beyond the angle of the enemy's works. Adams had advanced still further, being actually in rear of his entrenchments. * * * A good supporting line to my division, at this moment, would probably have produced decisive results." (See same volume, report of Stovall, p. 231, and Weaver's report, p. 238).

Stovall's brigade drove back two lines, and then changed front. Colonel Ray, commanding the Sixtieth North Carolina, fell severely wounded, but Captain Weaver held his position, with his right resting on the Lafayette road, until the Florida regiment on his left had been driven back by a flank fire from the line that had repulsed and killed Helm, and the Forty-seventh Georgia had been enfiladed and had retired from its right. The Sixtieth North Carolina, with its right on the Lafayette road, in the most advanced location, was the last of Breckenridge's division to fall back.

Our commissioners appointed under the Act of Congress to mark the positions of North Carolina regiments, reported, through Col. C. A. Cilley as Secretary, 3 November, 1893 (see 5 Clark's Regimental Histories, 169). After a careful

examination of maps and comparison of reports, including those of Major-General Brannon of Thomas's corps and Colonel Van Derveer, commanding the Third brigade of that division (see Series I, Vol. XXX, Part I, War Records, at pp. 429, 430), it was left to Lieutenant-General Stewart to designate the furthest point reached by the Sixtieth North Carolina Regiment. General Boynton, of the Park Commission, commanded the Thirty-fifth Ohio of Van Derveer's brigade, which met the advance of Stovall at this point, and Captain Cilley, of our commission, who served on the brigade staff, were on the ground and aided in the location. Colonel Cilley, for the commission, reported in part as follows:

"The result was that an oaken tablet, suitably inscribed, was put up on the side of the road marking it as a spot where the Sixtieth North Carolina Infantry, at noon 20 September, *reached the farthest point attained by Confederate troops in the famous charge.*"

In answer to a recent letter of inquiry the writer received the following reply from Lieutenant-General Stewart, Park Commissioner:

29 JULY, 1904.

HON. A. C. AVERY, Morganton, N. C.

Dear Sir:—The North Carolina Commission for this Park visited it a few years since. I was present when the position of the Sixtieth Regiment North Carolina Infantry was marked, at the north end of the Kelly field. This regiment formed a part of Stovall's brigade, Breckenridge's division, D. H. Hill's corps. The route pursued by the brigade on Sunday, 20 September, 1863, is well established, and the extreme point reached by the regiment in its advance was marked, after very careful examination of the ground and position, and is, no doubt, correctly located.

Very truly yours,

ALEX. P. STEWART.
Commissioner.

General Boynton (The Chickamauga National Park Commission, pp. 202-204) says that Stovall had driven John Beatty's line steadily back, Stanly's brigade had withdrawn from Adams's front, and "the situation was growing desper-

ate," when Van Derveer's brigade (in which Boynton and Cilley were serving) came upon the scene. He says:

"Stovall and Adams *being unsupported*, were repulsed and forced back around the Union left and *the position was saved*."

The foregoing quotations show that, at a crisis, when to hold the position won by the Sixtieth meant victory at noon, the saving of thousands of lives, and the reoccupation of Chattanooga, that regiment was the last to leave the vantage ground, and would never have receded had Walker advanced, as a support to Breckenridge, instead of being ordered to stand idle till after the repulse of the first line. The battle-fields of the 19th and 20th are covered with enduring monuments to the troops of Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, though they do not compare with the costly shafts reared by Northern States. The point attained by the Sixtieth North Carolina Regiment is marked by an inscription on a board, nailed to a telegraph pole, standing beside the Lafayette road. This "wooden tablet" has already done duty as a monument more than ten years.

The Thirty-ninth North Carolina Regiment, General Bushrod Johnson's division, was the first infantry of Bragg's army to cross the Chickamauga. He, with McNair's brigade, including the Thirty-ninth North Carolina, crossed at Reed's bridge, and at a ford just above it, and advanced a mile west of Jay's saw-mill (the point from which Cleburn's right moved forward on the afternoon of the next day), and then swept up the Chickamauga for two and one-half miles, clearing the way for the other troops to cross. By reference to the reports of Maj.-Gen. Bushrod Johnson and of Col. David Coleman, of the Thirty-ninth North Carolina, commanding McNair's brigade on 20 September (Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXX, Part II, pp. 454 and 499), it will appear that, being ordered to advance upon the enemy, about 12 M., on 19 September, in support of Grigg's brigade, Colonel Coleman, in command of the Thirty-ninth North Carolina, and the

Twenty-fifth Arkansas Regiment (Lieutenant-Colonel Huffsteller), finding Grigg's line checked, passed over a portion of it, charged the enemy and drove them three-fourths of a mile across the Chattanooga road, when, being unsupported and almost out of communication, they became subject to a cross-fire, and were ordered by Colonel Coleman to fall back to the main line.

These regiments were the first to cross the Chattanooga road after the fighting began, and advanced further to the front on the 19th than any other troops went in the attack on Rosecrans' center before noon of the 20th. Brigadier-General Trigg, according to his own report (in the same volume, at p. 430), was detained two hours after 12 M., 19 September, and executed several maneuvers under conflicting orders, and then moved forward, until he "came near a cornfield, in which the enemy had a battery, protected by earthworks, near the Chattanooga road." This battery was almost at that road, as appears by the tablets erected by the Park Commissioners. General Buckner made no report of the conduct of Johnson's division, because it had been previously detached from his corps. General Boynton (at pp. 38 and 39 of his book) confirms Coleman by stating that Johnson's troops were enfiladed by Wilder when they crossed that road on the 19th.

It is an admitted historical fact that fifteen Federal guns were captured in the advance, in Dyer's field, where the center of Rosecrans was broken, about 12 o'clock on 20 September. The map, showing the movements of Johnson's division (Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 469), shows the position of six guns captured near the Chattanooga road and nine captured a half mile further on higher ground, in Dyer's field, on the 20th. The Federal tablets show the loss of fifteen guns, in the advance of Johnson's division over Dyer's field.

Colonel Coleman, who assumed command when McNair fell, soon after the forward movement began (same volume of Official Records last cited, at p. 500), claims that he captured

"ten pieces, eight of which were sent with their remaining horses to the rear." The State commissioners, with the aid of the Park commissioners, arrived at the conclusion that Coleman's regiment captured nine pieces, the troops on his left six pieces. He was a graduate of Annapolis, and after seeing service with the United States Navy at Vera Cruz, in Mexico, resigned his command and read law, gained prominence in his profession, and established the character of a chivalrous gentleman. He was not mistaken as to sending eight guns to the rear. With six deserted guns not very far away, he may well have been mistaken in supposing two instead of one was left. Coleman's brigade and regiment had been sent to Mississippi when Johnson's report was made. Grigg's brigade (composed of Tennesseans and Texans) evidently captured the other six pieces, but the capture of the nine pieces posted on an eminence was the feature of the charge, which broke the enemy's center and opened the way to assail his natural fortress, Snodgrass Hill, from the south.

Colonel Cilley (5 Clark's Regimental Histories, p. 171) says that, after studying maps and reports on the night before, the North Carolina commissioners with the commissioners of the Park, Generals Boynton and Stewart, repaired to the field next day and walked up the long slope of Dyer's Hill, over which ten or twelve divisions had fought, and a second comparison of all the evidence available, made on the very spot of the conflict, so plainly showed the justice of Colonel Coleman's claim that our commissioners were directed to "drive down a stake, marked with the regiment's name, the date and fact of the exploit, at the location contended for." The stake is gone. But we may justly claim for Colonel Coleman's regiment that his men have erected a monument more enduring than brass to commemorate their conspicuous courage.

In a letter received from him after the foregoing was written, General Boynton says, after mentioning other matters:

"In regard to the division of the 15 guns, captured by Sugg's brigade and partly McNair's brigade, commanded by Colonel Coleman, this commission has never received any more definite information upon that subject than is set forth in the reports of Gen. Bushrod Johnson, Colonel Sugg and his adjutant, and Colonel Coleman, commanding McNair's brigade. From these reports it is evident that both these brigades participated in the capture of these 15 guns, one claiming 10 and the other 8. As the difference between these figures and the number captured is only three, neither claim can be much out of the way, and the part taken by each brigade was undoubtedly of the most creditable character."

As will appear later in this article, the Thirty-ninth North Carolina was, as a part of McNair's brigade, in the charge of Bushrod Johnson and Hindman's division, which onset first broke the center of Rosecrans' last line of defense upon the ridge west of Snodgrass Hill, near the Viditoe house, about 4 P. M., 20 September.

The Fifty-eighth North Carolina Regiment was organized in the summer of 1862, but had never participated in a great battle before the afternoon of 20 September, 1863. Preston's division, on the afternoon of that day, at 4 P. M., was ordered to move from its place in the reserve line at the junction of the Tanyard road with the Lafayette road, cross the bloody Dyer field and relieve Kershaw, who had been vainly assaulting the position of Brannon, on the south side of the protruding knob of Snodgrass Hill, called by the enemy the Horseshoe. In executing the order, Gracie's brigade was on his right, Kelly's in his center, and Trigg's on the left. The Fifty-eighth on the right of Kelly encountered in the charge Van Derveer's brigade, near the intersection of the Horseshoe with the main ridge, which extended south and was defended by Steadman's division of Granger's corps. The right of Palmer's Fifty-eighth extended some distance along the Horseshoe stronghold, while his left was on the ridge. It reached the farthest point in the charge about 5 P. M., a little more than an hour before Bushrod Johnson's division, including the Thirty-ninth North Carolina, in McNair's brigade, and a part of Hindman's division, had broken the

enemy's line, near the Viditoe house, some distance to the left and north. Rosecrans was cut off by this movement and fell back to McFarland's gap with his command, except Thomas's corps and a part of Granger's, which still held their positions. Such was the situation when the Fifty-eighth, *on the right of Kelly's brigade, advanced to a point within fifteen or twenty steps and its left within fifty yards of Van Derveer's line.* The left maintained its position at this distance during the engagement, lasting two hours. The regiment behind its log breastworks in its front was the Thirty-fifth Ohio, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Boynton (now General Boynton of the Commission), (see Boynton's report, Series 1, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 436, Official Records).

Gracie's brigade failed in its assault on the Horseshoe, and in its retreat left the right of the Fifty-eighth North Carolina exposed to an enfilade fire till Robertson's Texans took its place. The right of the Fifty-eighth was then drawn back, to avoid the enfilade fire, to a distance of about forty yards from Boynton's front. Its left remained steadfast till Steadman gave way and Boynton withdrew, when the regiment was ordered to the left of Kelly's brigade and joined Trigg's in cutting off and capturing several regiments (see Boynton's report, *supra*, p. 436). Colonel Palmer estimated the distance of his right from the enemy at ten or twelve feet. (See Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 445).

Some Confederate regiment advanced to within twelve or twenty steps of Boynton, because Boynton and Cilley both saw them from the breastworks, but they could not identify them. Palmer claimed the honor for his regiment, Kelly corroborated his statement, and no one has disputed the claim.

The North Carolina Commission, for whom Colonel Cilley reported, was composed of three soldiers of the Fifty-eighth North Carolina, one of whom, Lieut.-Col. I. H. Bailey, a man of high character, and who has represented his district creditably in the State Senate, confirms the statement in his history of the regiment (3 Clark's Regimental Histories, p. 431) as

to its proximity to the foe. The other two, Lieut. D. F. Baird and Mr. Davis, sustain equally as good reputations. These three men located the Fifty-eighth, in the charging and fighting line, where Boynton and Cilley saw a Confederate regiment advance and stand.' Two distinguished Federal officers determined the position. Three Confederate officers of unquestioned character identify the troops that occupied the ground. All of the reports place Palmer's regiment on the right of Kelly, and inform us that Gracie gave way, leaving his right exposed, from the very nature of the ground, to an enfilade fire from the line extending east along the Horse-shoe until it was slightly drawn back.

In a letter addressed to the writer of this article dated 15 August, 1904, General Boynton, after expressing his concurrence with General Stewart in the opinion that the point to which the Sixtieth advanced is correctly marked by the wooden tablet, says that the Park Commissioners do not know the exact point occupied by the Fifty-eighth North Carolina, but that the steel tablet erected by the Park Commission indicates the extreme point reached by Kelly's brigade. General Boynton says further:

"My own impression is—indeed, it is more than an impression—that whatever regiment occupied the position on the Kelly line of the present tablet, was *certainly* no further than 40 yards to the front of my own regiment, which at that moment held the right of Van Derveer's brigade."

Colonel Kelly, in his report (Series 1, Vol. XXX, Part II, pp. 438, 439, Official Records), says that the Fifty-eighth was on his right and that the right of his brigade charged to within 15 or 20, the center 40, and the left 60 yards of the enemy. Kelly gives the formation of his three regiments as follows: the Fifty-eighth on his right, Fifth Kentucky on his left, and the Sixty-fifth Georgia in the center.

Colonel Cilley reported, in part, that—

"After the fullest discussion, careful examination of printed and verbal testimony, inspection and measurement of ground, *the point*

where the topmost wave of the tide of Southern battle broke nearer than any other to the unbroken lines of Thomas's defense was agreed by us all to have been reached by the Fifty-eighth North Carolina Infantry."

One-half of the soldiers of this untried regiment fell, and during three hours of continuous fighting it maintained its place at the forefront, making only a slight change of part of its front to conform to the line of the enemy.

Boynton's map of Kelly Field and Snodgrass Hill, on the afternoon of 20 September (see Chickamauga Military Park, page 51), shows the position of Preston's division (including the Fifty-eighth North Carolina) at 4 P. M., and locates it later, at 4:30 P. M., as moving up to the position from which Kershaw was driven back.

We submit that the evidence, from both fighting lines, shows that the right of Kelly's brigade charged furthest to the front and that the Fifty-eighth North Carolina was on its right.

It remains only to mention the conduct of the Twenty-ninth North Carolina Regiment (infantry) and the Sixty-fifth North Carolina Regiment (6 Cavalry).

The cavalry regiment, as a part of Davidson's brigade, Armstrong's division, Forrest's corps, fought bravely in advance of our troops on the first day, the 18th, and when the cavalry encountered, not only Wilder's mounted infantry, but the brigade of Van Derveer, which won greater distinction than any other troop in Rosecrans' army, the Twenty-ninth North Carolina met them, and exhibited courage, if not dash, in effecting a crossing of the river.

Unfortunately for the Twenty-ninth North Carolina, the report of General Ector, referred to in Gist's report, was never published, and Colonel Creasman of that regiment probably made no report of its conduct at Chickamauga. General Walker said, however:

"General Ector is absent, his brigade having been ordered to Mississippi, and I have no report from him, but his brigade acted

with the greatest gallantry." (Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXX, Part II, pp. 240, 246, 247).

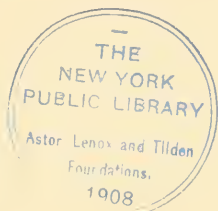
Apologizing for its length, I respectfully submit the foregoing, with the hope that those who may be led by it to search diligently for the truth will be fully satisfied that North Carolina has claimed for her contingent in the Army of Tennessee no greater distinction than they justly won.

The writer participated in the battle of Chickamauga, though he has not deemed it proper or necessary to state facts within his own knowledge, when official documents abundantly establish our contentions. There was but one North Carolina regiment (Sixtieth North Carolina) in Hill's corps, of which he was Acting Assistant Inspector-General. He placed Cleborne in position on the 19th and again on the 20th before the advance of his division. He delivered a message to Forrest just before the final advance of Hill on the right on Sunday evening, and galloped back to the lines in time to go forward with General Breckenridge to the Chattanooga road, but crossed that road with the Kentucky brigade, not with Stovall's brigade. He did not witness personally the conduct of the Sixtieth North Carolina, or any other of the North Carolina regiments. He has recently examined carefully every part of the Park, and satisfied himself of the truth of what he has written. The accompanying map was drawn by W. E. Walton, a civil engineer, under his supervision, with aid from the map of General Boynton by his permission and those published in the "Official Records" by the United States Government.

It is not improper to add that the writer is under obligation to Capt. H. H. Chambers, now a prominent attorney of the Chattanooga bar, but a native of North Carolina who won distinction as Captain of Company C, Forty-ninth North Carolina Regiment (see 3 Clark's Regimental Histories, pp. 132, 144), for efficient assistance in the survey of the battlefield and in tracing the movements of our regiments.

MORGANTON, N. C.,

25 August, 1904.

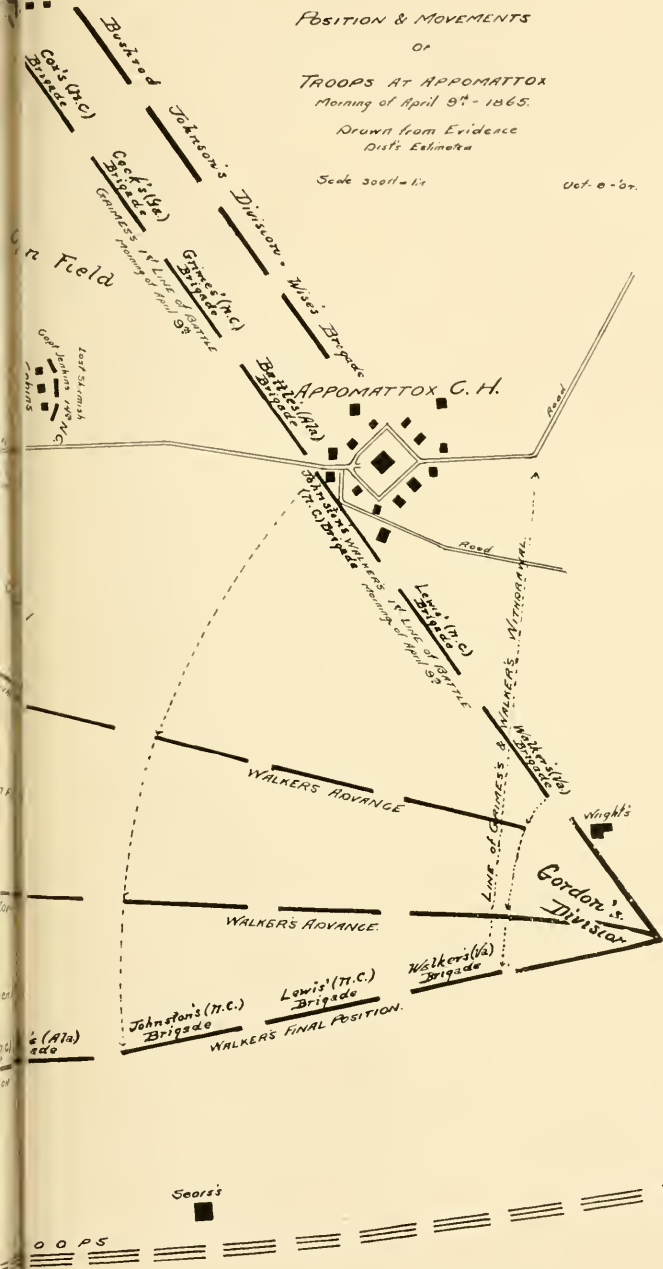


Qr

Morning of April 9th - 1865.

Scale 300 ft = 1 in

Oct-8-'67



“THE LAST AT APPOMATTOX.”

HENRY A. LONDON,

Co. I, 32d N. C. REGIMENT, AND COURIER TO MAJ.-GEN. BRYAN GRIMES.

North Carolina proudly boasts that she was “The Last at Appomattox” because:

1. A North Carolinian, Maj.-Gen. Bryan Grimes, planned the last battle fought there and commanded the infantry engaged therein, the greater part of which were North Carolina troops.

2. A North Carolina brigade, commanded by Gen. W. R. Cox, made the last charge and fired the last volley of any organized body of Confederates immediately preceding the surrender.

3. A detachment of North Carolina troops from the Fourth and Fourteenth regiments did the last fighting of any infantry after the withdrawal of the main body of the infantry.

4. North Carolina troops (Roberts’s brigade of cavalry) captured the last cannon that were captured by the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox.

In sustaining this proud claim by indisputable proof North Carolina is fortunate in having the full and clear statements written by Maj.-Gen. Bryan Grimes and Brig.-Gen. W. R. Cox only a few years after the war, which are as authentic as official reports could be. These statements were published twenty-five years ago and no person has ever denied their entire accuracy and truthfulness. Before they were published they were submitted to this writer for correction or revision (twenty-five years ago when the incidents of the surrender were fresh in memory), and from personal knowledge I knew them to be true and correct.

The first evidence offered is the statement written by General Grimes in the year 1879 and published in Volume II of Moore's History of North Carolina, from which is copied the following extract:

"On Saturday, the 8th, no enemy appeared, and we marched undisturbed all day. Up to this time, since the evacuation of Petersburg, we had marched day and night, continually followed and harassed by the enemy. The men were very much jaded and suffering for necessary sustenance, our halts not having been sufficiently long to prepare their food, besides all our cooking utensils not captured or abandoned were where we could not reach them. This day Bushrod Johnson's division was assigned to and placed under my command, by order of General Lee. Upon passing a clear stream of water and learning that the other divisions of the corps had gone into camp some two miles ahead, I concluded to halt and give my broken-down men an opportunity to close up and rejoin us, and sent a message to Maj.-Gen. John B. Gordon, commanding the corps, making known my whereabouts, informing him I would be at any point he might designate at any hour desired.

"By dark my men were all quiet and asleep. About 9 o'clock I heard the roar of artillery in our front, and in consequence of information received I had my command aroused in time and passed through the town of Appomattox Court-House before daylight, where, upon the opposite side of the town, I found the enemy in my front. Throwing out my skirmishers and forming line of battle, I reconnoitered and satisfied myself as to their position, and awaited the arrival of General Gordon for instructions, who, a while before day, accompanied by Gen. Fitz. Lee, came to my position, when we held a council of war. General Gordon was of the opinion that the troops in our front were cavalry, and that Gen. Fitz. Lee should attack. Fitz. Lee thought they were infantry and that General Gordon should attack. They discussed the matter so long that I became impatient, and said it was somebody's duty to attack, and that immediately, and I felt satisfied that they could be driven from the cross-roads occupied by them, which was the route it was desirable our wagon-train should pursue, and that I would undertake it; whereupon Gordon said: 'Well, drive them off.' I replied: 'I can not do it with my division alone, but require assistance.' He then said: 'You can take the two other divisions of the corps.' By this time it was becoming sufficiently light to make the surrounding localities visible. I then rode down and invited General Walker, who commanded a division on my left, composed principally of

Virginians,* to ride with me, showing him the position of the enemy and explaining to him my views and plan of attack. He agreed with me as to its advisability. I did this because I felt that I had assumed a great responsibility when I took upon myself the charge of making the attack. I then made dispositions to dislodge the Federals from their position, placing Bushrod Johnson's division upon my right, with instructions to attack and take the enemy in the flank, while my division skirmishers charged in front, where temporary earthworks had been thrown up by the enemy, their cavalry holding the crossings of the roads with a battery. I soon perceived a disposition on their part to attack this division in flank. I rode back and threw our right so as to take advantage of some ditches and fences to obstruct the cavalry if they should attempt to make a charge. In the meantime the cavalry of Fitz. Lee were proceeding by a circuitous route to get in rear of these cross-roads. The enemy observing me placing these troops in position, fired upon me with four pieces of artillery. I remember well the appearance of the shell, and how directly they came towards me, exploding and completely enveloping me in smoke. I then gave the signal to advance, at the same time Fitz. Lee charged those posted at the cross-roads, when my skirmishers attacked the breastworks, which were taken without much loss on my part, also capturing several pieces of artillery and a large number of prisoners, I at the same time moving the division up to the support of the skirmishers in echelon by brigades, driving the enemy in confusion for three-quarters of a mile beyond the range of hills covered with oak undergrowth. I then learned from the prisoners that my right flank was threatened. Halting my troops, I placed the skirmishers, commanded by Col. J. R. Winston, Forty-fifth North Carolina troops, in front, about one hundred yards distant, to give notice of indications of attack. I placed Cox's brigade, which occupied the right of the division at right angles to the other troops, to watch that flank. The other divisions of the corps (Walker's and Evans') were on the left. I then sent an officer to General Gordon, announcing our success, and that the Lynchburg road was open for the escape of the wagons, and that I awaited orders. Thereupon I received an order to withdraw, which I declined to do, supposing that General Gordon did not understand the commanding position which my

*General Grimes was mistaken in saying that the division commanded by General Walker was "composed principally of Virginians." It was composed principally of North Carolinians, one-fourth of that division being Virginians and three-fourths being North Carolinians. This is mentioned by Judge Montgomery on page 260, Vol. V, Clark's Regimental Histories, and is proved by the parole list published on page 1277 of Serial No. 95, of "The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies." It will there be seen that Walker's division was composed of Pegram's Virginia brigade with 304 officers and men and R. D. Johnston's North Carolina brigade with 463 and Lewis's North Carolina brigade with 447. So that in Walker's division there were 910 North Carolinians and 304 Virginians paroled at Appomattox.

troops occupied. He continued to send me order after order to the same effect, which I still disregarded, being under the impression that he did not comprehend our favorable location, until finally I received a message from him, with an additional one, as coming from General Lee, to fall back. I felt the difficulty of withdrawing without disaster and ordered Col. J. R. Winston, commanding the skirmish-line which had been posted in my front on first reaching these hills, to conform his movements to those of the division, and to move by the left flank so as to give notice of an attack from that quarter. I then ordered Cox to maintain his position in line of battle, and not to show himself until our rear was one hundred yards distant, and then to fall back in line of battle, so as to protect our rear and right flank from assault. I then instructed Major Peyton, of my staff, to start the left in motion, and I continued with the rear.

"The enemy upon seeing us move off, rushed out from under cover with a cheer, when Cox's brigade, lying concealed at the brow of the hill, rose and fired a volley into them, which drove them back into the woods. The brigade then followed their retreating comrades in line of battle unmolested. After proceeding about half the distance to the position occupied by us in the morning, a dense mass of the enemy in column (infantry) appeared on our right, and advanced, without firing, towards the earthworks captured by us in the early morning, when a battery of our artillery opened with grape and canister and drove them under the shelter of the woods.

"As my troops approached their position of the morning, I rode up to General Gordon and asked where I should form line of battle. He replied: 'Anywhere you choose.' Struck by the strangeness of the reply, I asked an explanation, whereupon he informed me that we would be surrendered."

In corroboration of General Grimes is the statement written in 1879 by Brig.-Gen. William R. Cox and published in Volume II of Moore's History of North Carolina and rewritten without any material change in 1901 and published in Vol. IV of Clark's Regimental Sketches. General Cox's statement is as follows:

"The army now reduced to two corps under Generals Longstreet and Gordon, moved over wretched roads steadily towards Appomattox Court-House, our purpose being to reach Danville. By great effort the head of the column reached Appomattox Court-House on the evening of the 8th and the troops were halted for rest. During the night there were indications of a large force moving on our left and front. Besides his own division, General Grimes was put in command of the remnants of Bushrod Johnson's division and Wise's

brigade. Just before daylight Gordon moved his command through the village and was supported by Fitz. Lee's cavalry on his right. At 5 o'clock A. M. I received an order that on the firing of a cannon the division would move forward.

* * * "The division had not proceeded far before Cook's and Cox's brigades were exposed to a murderous artillery fire; but, instead of halting and recoiling, they promptly charged and captured it. The engagement now became general along our front, and our cavalry, though worn down by incessant duties on the retreat, gallantly and bravely supported us on the right. The struggle, however, was unequal. The pistol and carbine were ineffective against the Enfield range and destructive 'buck and ball,' and but few infantry were supporting them. Retiring slowly at first, their retreat soon became a rout as they hastened to their infantry supports in the woods, while riderless horses galloped over the fields where lay their wounded and dying. An infantry Captain was captured and brought before me, and he gave me the first information that General Ord with ten thousand infantry was in our front. Upon taking a commanding position I ordered a halt, when many columns of infantry were seen advancing, evidently with the intention of capturing us. Firing was now resumed, when General Grimes directed me through his courier, H. A. London, to withdraw. The armistice had evidently been agreed to, but I did not anticipate it. Still contesting the field, I retired slowly. The enemy seeing the movement, hastened their advance with the evident purpose of surrounding us, and moved so rapidly as to make some ruse necessary to check their zeal. In this emergency, through an aide, James S. Battle, I ordered the regimental commanders of Cox's brigade to meet me at the center as we retired. I then directed their attention to a gradually rising hill between us and the advancing columns of the enemy, and directed that they face their regiments about and at a double-quick charge to the crest of the hill, and before the enemy should recover from their surprise, halt, fire by brigade, and then with like rapid movement face about and rejoin the division. Raising the 'rebel yell' the brigade with celerity and precision, promptly and faultlessly executed the order, and having gained the brow of the hill, the enemy anticipating a determined struggle, commenced to deploy and prolong their line as if on parade. But before the movement was fully executed the command rang along the Confederate line clear and distinct above the din of battle. 'Halt; ready, aim, fire.' And while the encircling troops were surprised and stunned by the audacity of the charge and the unusual character of the fire, the brigade safely withdrew and regained the division, which in the meantime had been skirmishing as it withdrew. General Gordon, superbly mounted, as we passed by exclaimed: 'Grandly and gloriously done!'"

“THIS WAS THE LAST CHARGE OF THE ARMY OF
NORTHERN VIRGINIA.”

According to the above statements of Generals Grimes and Cox, written in 1879, and published without any contradiction from any source for more than twenty years, the last charge made and the last volley fired at Appomattox by any organized brigade of infantry was by Cox's North Carolina brigade. Their statements are *true of my own personal knowledge*.

General Cox in his statement further says that “an irregular exchange of fire was for some time maintained” by some of his skirmishers who were covering his retreat and did “not perceive or understand the flag of truce.” In corroboration of this is the following statement written under date of July 14, 1904, by Capt. W. T. Jenkins of Halifax County, who was Captain of Company A, Fourteenth North Carolina Regiment:

“On the morning of the 9th, after a sleepless and supperless night, ‘very early, while it was yet dark,’ we were ordered to take up line of march in the direction of Lynchburg. We were marched across a creek beyond Appomattox and formed line of battle. We were soon ordered to advance down the Lynchburg road, General Cox's brigade being on the right of the advancing column. We were discovered by a Yankee battery on our left and several of our men were killed and wounded by the shells. We encountered the enemy in force at an intersection of cross-roads and drove them from the field, and after going some distance on the left of the road we received orders to fall back and bring up the rear. The enemy soon discovered our retreat and attempted to advance and cut us off, but we charged and drove them back into the woods and continued our retreat in the direction of the Court-House. When we reached the road all the troops had passed and we halted for our rear to come up and all get together.

“General Cox then ordered me to take the Fourteenth and Fourth Regiments and hold the enemy in check until he could get his command to the rear, and send back some horses and have a battery of artillery moved which had been left on the road. I then advanced the two regiments down the road and formed line of battle, the Fourth on the right with left resting on the road, and the Fourteenth on the left and connecting with the Fourth. We were soon hotly engaged and pressed back, and not wishing to lose all our men

and colors, I went to the Fourth and ordered them to fall back in good order, and then gave the Fourteenth the same order. I then called for volunteers from the Fourteenth Regiment to take position behind some houses near-by and hold the enemy in check until the two regiments had gotten to the rear. About twenty-five of our men responded promptly and we soon opened a heavy fire and made a big racket so that the Yankees did not know our strength.

"While fighting behind those houses two officers rode up some distance in our rear and asked what command was that fighting. We told them 'General Cox's.' They ordered us to stop firing, saying that General Lee had surrendered. The Yankees were then gathering all around us from right and left, and we saw no way of escape. So I decided to surrender, and hoisted a white flag and went out in front of the houses, but we were fired on by the enemy. I suppose they did not see the white flag. Our men opened fire again and kept it up until we were entirely surrounded and taken fighting. Some of our men fired from one corner of a house when the enemy would come around the other. We were taken by Sheridan's command and carried into the Yankee lines and kept all day, and returned to our command about sunset. General Cox and our friends came out to meet us and expressed joy at our return, as they thought we had all been killed. After our surrender or capture we were taken back over the entire battlefield, and I know that there were no other Confederate troops anywhere on the field nor any more firing. * * * We were taken, I suppose, about 12 o'clock. I know the Yankees were eating dinner when we arrived in their camp, and they very kindly offered to share with us, but we very politely declined."

The next evidence is that of W. L. London, now the Brigadier-General of the Second brigade in the North Carolina division of the United Confederate Veterans, and who was the Adjutant-General of Daniel's (afterwards Grimes') brigade, and was serving on General Grimes' staff on the morning of the surrender. His written statement under date of August 18, 1904, is as follows:

"On the morning of the 9th of April, 1865, our brigade being in line of battle, General Grimes rode by and called me to him, saying: 'I want you with me this morning; I have undertaken to open those roads (pointing to the cross-roads in front of us). Your brigade is so small it will not need you at present.' I then rode with him along the lines, and just as we were near Wise's Virginia brigade the enemy's battery in our front opened on us and one of the shells struck just under General Grimes' horse and so enveloped him in

smoke and dust that I thought he must be killed, and rode up quickly, but found him unhurt.

"He then told me to ride back and order the line to advance. When I got to my old regiment (the Thirty-second) I called their attention to the battery in front and told them I wanted one of those horses, as my horse had given out. It was only a short time before one of the regiment came riding up to the left of the line on a horse from the battery for me, and I brought that horse home with me. I do not know who captured the battery, but the Thirty-second Regiment could not have been far off. The line of battle continued to advance and very soon a courier from General Grimes rode up and told General Cox that General Grimes said to fall back, which General Cox soon commenced to do. His men were in a small body of woods and as soon as his brigade commenced falling back and had gotten out of the woods, the enemy began to advance in such numbers that it looked like they were rising out of the ground all over the country. General Cox seeing them advancing, ordered his brigade to 'about-face' and, charging a short distance, fired a volley as one man. This was the last organized firing I heard that day. There were a few sharp-shooters protecting the rear, and they may have fired some shots. We passed on by the Court-House and found all the other troops ahead of us and had halted."

The first troops to reach the battery of artillery, above referred to, were the North Carolina cavalry of Gen. W. P. Roberts, as will be seen from the following letter written to him, under date of July 26, 1904, by his former Adjutant-General, T. S. Garnett, of Norfolk, Virginia:

"My recollection of the capture of a battery of artillery at Appomattox on the morning of the 9th of April, 1865, is simply this: Your brigade was immediately on the right of Gordon's corps, our left joining Gordon's right and advancing in line with the infantry. The enemy's battery of four Napoleon guns was immediately in our front on open ground, but near a body of woods towards our right. As we advanced the enemy fired repeatedly, their shot being directed chiefly at the infantry of Gordon's corps, and thus affording us an opportunity to get at them easily.

"We approached the battery rapidly and got among them with little loss. They surrendered at once, but one gun limbered up and got away. The captain of the battery surrendered to me and I took his horse from him, telling him to take the captured guns back to Appomattox Court-House, and sending Forbes (your courier) back with him. We made their own drivers keep their seats and drive the guns back towards the Court-House, where, I afterwards understood, they arrived exactly as ordered. We pressed forward and partici-

pated in the continued fighting, passing over a ditch in which I saw the gun which had escaped capture lying overthrown and abandoned. Shortly after this we were ordered to fall back, which we did, returning over the same ground towards the Court-House."

In corroboration of the above is the following extract from a written statement, under date of June 2, 1904, by Mr. J. P. Leach, of Littleton, who was a member of Company C, Fifty-third North Carolina Regiment:

"Our command (Grimes' division) passed through the town of Appomattox Court-House between daybreak and sunrise. When upon the opposite side of the town and within a few hundred yards of the court-house we were put in skirmish-line on a road and rail fence. In front of the command and located in a piece of woods, with an open field of several hundred yards between, several pieces of Federal artillery had been located, and opened fire in the early morning with vigor and unpleasant precision. We were ordered to charge the battery, and went forward at double-quick, but before going two hundred yards the guns were silenced and in a few moments were brought galloping toward my command, each gun having six horses. They were turned over to us, and with others I helped to escort the captured battery to a point near the court-house. I trotted along on the off-side of a brave and unconcerned 'Yank,' who rode one of the six bay horses conveying one of the captured guns. He had a haversack hanging on my side of his horse and I an interested witness to its fullness. When we halted near the court-house I proceeded to dislodge from the hames of the horse on my side the food-bag of my new acquaintance. He was a stout man and I was a little slender and cadaverous. He raved at me with some cuss words, but I proceeded to open the sack and make fair division with him of our piece of corn-beef and six hardtack, the first food I had had for some days. The drivers and artillerymen were very jovial and little concerned about their capture. They could see the game was up with the 'Johnnies.'

"The battery of four guns had been flanked by cavalry of Gen. William P. Roberts and surrendered to him before the infantry could reach them, a fortunate circumstance which I recall with lasting gratitude for the 'buttermilk' brigade."

With the above evidence of these witnesses, one of them being a Major-General and another being a Brigadier-General, and all except General Grimes still living, North Carolina can safely rest her proud claim of having been "The Last at Appomattox."

PITTSBORO, N. C.,

25 August, 1904.

IDENTIFICATION OF LOCALITIES.

The undersigned, under instructions of the State Literary and Historical Association, visited the battlefield at Appomattox Court-House on 1 October, 1904, and by personal investigation were enabled to locate the positions described in the foregoing article and to corroborate the statements therein made. Appended hereto is a map of the battlefield and the positions of the North Carolina troops as described in said article, which map is correct and accurate to the personal knowledge of four of the undersigned, who were present and participated in the closing scenes at Appomattox.

H. A. LONDON, *32 N. C., Grimes' Brigade.*

W. A. MONTGOMERY, *12 N. C., Johnson's Brigade.*

W. T. JENKINS, *12 N. C., Cox's Brigade.*

A. M. POWELL, *2 N. C., Cox's Brigade.*

W. J. PEELE, *Chmn. N. C. Historical Commission.*

RALEIGH, N. C.,

5 October, 1904.

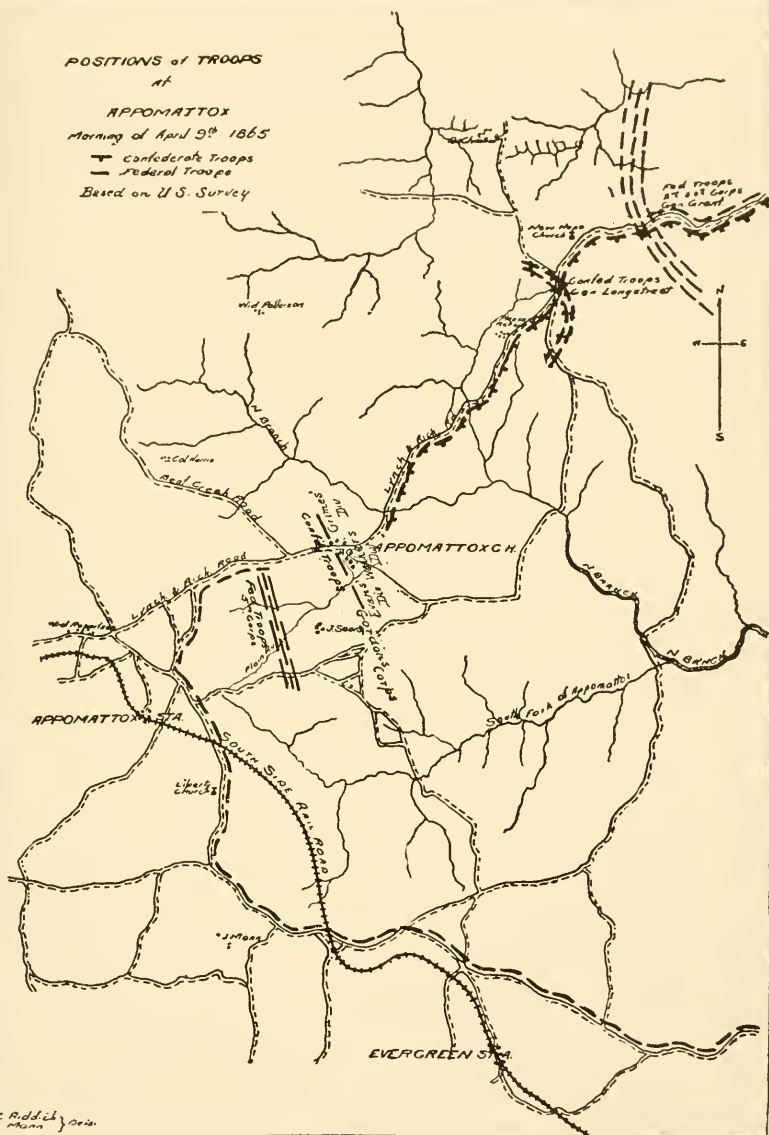
POSITIONS of TROOPS
at

APPOMATTOX

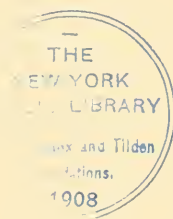
Morning of April 9th 1865

— Confederate Troops
— Federal Troops

Based on U.S. Survey



APPOMATTOX.



THE LAST CAPTURE OF GUNS.

E. J. HOLT,

First Lieutenant, 75th North Carolina (7th Cavalry).

On the night of 8 April, 1865, Roberts's North Carolina Cavalry Brigade, composed of the Fifty-ninth and Seventy-fifth North Carolina (Fourth and Seventh Cavalry), camped on the Richmond and Lynchburg road, in a piece of woodland about three-fourths or one mile east of Appomattox Court-House. About 4 A. M. the morning of the 9th we mounted and were marched through the village to about one-third of a mile west of the court-house and formed in line facing the southwest on the right of Grimes' division next to Cox's North Carolina brigade, the right of that division. We remained in that position, mounted, till just about sunrise. The sun came up to our left gloriously bright and warm and cheering to men worn out with cold, hunger, and loss of sleep, as we were. About that time a chaplain from some regiment in our division rode out in front of our brigade and made an earnest and fervent prayer. Soon afterwards the enemy began shelling us with a battery a little to the left of our front and about 700 or 800 yards distant. The battery was in an open field and near to woodland on its left and rear, and was on very much lower land than the position held by us. Promptly Gen. W. P. Roberts's brigade, composed of what was left of the Fifty-ninth North Carolina (Fourth Cavalry) and the Seventy-fifth North Carolina (Seventh Cavalry)—in all, I suppose, near 100 men—charged, in line, with drawn sabers, directly upon the battery, which was supported by a force of Sheridan's dismounted cavalry. Our charge was first met by shells, then grape, and then by canister and the balls from the carbines. We moved very rapidly,

and, the surface of the land being undulating, we were frequently out of sight of the battery and safe from their grape. When we got within about 200 yards of them they began to run. Some went into the woods, some took shelter under the gun carriages, and all quit firing. Our loss was very light. We captured four Napoleons and about fifty men.

As quickly as possible we took our guns and prisoners back to the point where we had first formed our line that morning, and proceeded at once to reform our commands and get ready for other work. About the time we got in order again, one of the men in the Seventy-fifth called my attention to a small force of the enemy going southeasterly down a rail fence between the woods and fields, at a point marked "C" on the map. I called to General Roberts and pointed them out, and after a hasty examination with his field-glass, he ordered the Seventy-fifth to charge and capture them. We at once drew sabers and charged in columns of four. The field was intersected by ditches and my idea was to charge in columns of four and, when we had passed the last ditch, to deploy into line and then give them the saber. But when we had crossed, as I thought, the last ditch and began our movement to get into line, I discovered a large ditch just inside the field and saw at once that our horses could not get over the ditch and the rail fence built upon the earth taken from the ditch. Our Yankees quit going down the fence and dropped on their knees and opened on us with a hot fire with Spencer rifles. I saw that it was impossible to reach them with the saber and gave the order to unsling carbines and fire. We gave them a volley, and about that time my horse was killed, and seeing the utter uselessness of our staying there to be butchered, with no hope of getting at our enemy, I gave orders to fall back. I went out on foot and was exposed to a warm fire for the first 200 yards. Two balls cut my clothing. I ran in a northeasterly direction and got to the Richmond and Lynchburg road, about 200 yards from the court-house. While falling back I noticed there was no firing, either by

cannon or small arms, and just before I got to the road I saw a party with a flag of truce going towards the court-house. I suppose it was about 9 A. M. And from what I know to have been done that eventful morning, I feel sure that the Seventy-fifth North Carolina (Seventh Cavalry) was up against the enemy about as late as Cox's North Carolina Infantry Brigade to our left, and entitled to share in the honor of having fought as long as any other troops. Certainly it is beyond question that we captured four cannon and about fifty men—the last capture that was made by that immortal army that had captured so many men and guns in its history.

SMITHFIELD, N. C.,

7 October, 1904.

NUMBER AND LOSSES OF NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS.

S. A. ASHE.

Although North Carolina had not been favorable to secession at an early stage of the troubles between the North and South, yet when the fight came on her contributions to the Southern cause were more important than those of any other State. Alone of all her sister States, she made importations of supplies from abroad that were of great consequence. During the Revolutionary War she had employed a Board of Officers to collect and export produce and to import necessities and munitions; and in 1861 history repeated itself, and she early made a large appropriation to purchase supplies abroad, and later, under Governor Vance's administration, she bought a fast vessel and imported large quantities of mill supplies, 60,000 pairs of hand cards, 10,000 grain scythes, shoes and leather for shoes equal to 250,000 pairs, 50,000 blankets, gray woolen cloth for 250,000 uniforms, 12,000 overcoats, \$50,000 gold value of medicines, and many other supplies. As the shoes, blankets, and clothing were more than sufficient for the use of her own troops, large quantities of them were turned over to the Confederate Government for the troops of other States. The wisdom of the North Carolina statesmen made them provident for the supply of the army; and in like manner their spirit and zeal led them to coöperate with the Confederate Government in the enforcement of the conscript act to an extent beyond what obtained elsewhere. In no other State was the conscript act enforced so thoroughly as in North Carolina, the State authorities aiding in its enforcement.

The contribution of the State in soldiers was indeed remarkable, and in losses she suffered much more than any other State.

Maj.-Gen. R. C. Gatlin, who had been a distinguished officer of the United States Army, while Adjutant-General of the State of North Carolina, on May 16, 1864, reported "that up to the 31st of March, 1864, North Carolina had furnished troops as follows:

Transferred to the Confederate States according to the original rolls (August 20, 1862).....	64,436
Estimated number of recruits that have volunteered in the different companies' service since the date of the original rolls	20,608
Number of conscripts sent to the army.....	14,460
Number of troops in the service of the State not transferred	2,903
<hr/>	
Making an aggregate of.....	102,407

"These troops have been organized as follows:

Regiments of artillery.....	3
Regiments of cavalry.....	6
Regiments of infantry.....	60
<hr/>	
Total number of regiments.....	69
Battalions of artillery.....	4
Battalions of cavalry.....	4
Battalions of infantry.....	3
<hr/>	
Total number of battalions.....	11
Unattached companies, infantry.....	6

"There is one company from this State in the Tenth Virginia Cavalry, five in the Seventh Confederate Cavalry, four in the Sixty-second Georgia Regiment, and one in the Sixty-first Virginia Infantry." That was March, 1864.

On July 7, 1863, the General Assembly of North Carolina passed an act to organize the Guard for Home Defense, to be composed of all persons, between the ages of 18 and 50, not actually in the service of the Confederate States. These were enrolled and organized into companies and regiments, and those across the Blue Ridge into a brigade and John W. McElroy was appointed a Brigadier-General and assigned to the command, with headquarters at Burnsville.

The number of Home Guard enrolled was 28,098; but a large number of them were cripples, infirm and decrepit, and unfit to perform military duty. Boards of examiners were appointed to pass on all claims of exemption on account of physical disability; but before that work was completed the Confederate law putting all persons between the ages of 17 and 50 into the Confederate service was passed, and that largely reduced the Home Guard organizations. But the Home Guard under General McElroy was early called out and was in active service; and the Home Guard of the eastern counties were later organized into a brigade under General Collett Leventhorpe, and the Home Guard of other counties were also in active service.

Governor Vance in his address at White Sulphur Springs in 1875, after a careful examination of the records of the Adjutant-General's office, stated the North Carolina troops in the war as follows:

Volunteers at the outset.....	64,636
Volunteers subsequently received.....	21,608
Troops in unattached companies in regiments of other States,	3,103
Regular troops in State's service.....	3,203
Conscripts sent to the front.....	18,585
Senior Reserves	5,686
Junior Reserves	4,217
Home Guard	3,962
	<hr/>
	125,000

And these figures are as correct as it is possible to make them.

The Senior and Junior Reserves were organized into regiments and were trained troops and were incorporated into the army and were therefore to be numbered with the regular forces of the Confederacy.

The figures for the Confederate Army, now accepted, were estimated by Dr. Joseph Jones and were approved by General Cooper, the Adjutant-General of the Confederacy. (See p. 287, Vol. VII, Southern Historical Society Papers). "The

available Confederate force capable of active service in the field did not during the entire war exceed 600,000 men; and of this number not more than 400,000 were enrolled at any one time."

However, at page 500, Vol. XII, Confederate Military History, the total number borne on the Confederate muster-roll on January 1, 1864, is stated at 472,781; but these figures include the absent as well as the present, the prisoners in Northern prisons and the sick at home as well as all absent without leave. Indeed, it is estimated that not more than 200,000 Confederate soldiers ever were present in the camps and ready for battle at any one time.

The entire military population of the eleven seceded States was 1,064,193; and that of North Carolina was 115,369, being one-ninth of the whole.

Military population embraces all white males between the ages of 18 and 45, without regard to any physical or mental infirmity or religious scruples; and making some allowance for these exemptions, the military population of North Carolina would be diminished by several thousand.

Taking the entire enrollment of Confederate troops at 600,000 and North Carolina's contribution at 125,000, it appears that she furnished something more than one-fifth of all the soldiers who were enrolled beneath the flag of the Confederacy, although her military population was only one-ninth of the whole.

Of those present for duty, it would seem that North Carolina had a much larger proportion than would have naturally fallen to her lot. It was the policy founded in wisdom to keep her regiments full and effective and not to multiply her organizations. We find that the enrollment of some of her regiments aggregated 1,800; as some were killed or died, new men replaced them, and the organizations were thus maintained effective until towards the very end of the war.

There were altogether 529 regiments and 85 battalions of infantry in the Confederate service, and enough of the other

branches of the service to make the entire force equivalent to 764 regiments of 10 companies each. (Colonel Fox's Regimental Losses, page 553). Of these organizations, Virginia had somewhat more than one-tenth and North Carolina somewhat less than one-tenth. How full North Carolina kept her regiments relatively is demonstrated by the fact that with less than one-tenth of the organizations, she furnished one-fifth of the soldiers. It is apparent that relatively her organizations were kept fuller than those of other States.

And the same conclusion must be reached when we consider the losses in battle. The valor of the Confederate troops from the different States was much the same. The fortunes of the battlefield brought heavy losses to regiments from every State without much discrimination. Evidently, then, losses on the battlefield measurably indicate the numbers engaged from the different States.

Of the Confederate losses on the battlefield and died from wounds, North Carolina's proportion was more than 25 per cent. The entire Confederate loss was 74,524, and that of North Carolina was 19,673, which was more than one-fourth. (Fox's Regimental Losses, page 554). It would seem, therefore, that on the basis of losses, one-fourth of all the troops engaged in the battles of the war were from North Carolina.

Now turning to the statistics in regard to deaths by disease, 59,297 are reported to have died of disease, of whom 20,602 were North Carolinians. (Fox's Regimental Losses, page 554). As her troops were no more liable to disease than those from other States, and perhaps not so much so, since they were better cared for, it would seem from this that her enrollment approximated one-third of the entire enrollment of the Confederate Army. These indications irresistibly lead to the conclusion that North Carolina was constantly represented in the field by a much larger number of soldiers present for duty than any other State.

The white population of Virginia was 1,047,299 and her military population was 196,587. The entire population,

black and white, of that part of Virginia subsequently cut off was about 400,000, leaving the State of Virginia with a larger white population and a larger military population than North Carolina.

The white enlistments in the Federal Army for North Carolina were 3,146; and the white enlistments in the Federal Army from West Virginia were 31,872.

If four-tenths of Virginia's white population should be assigned to West Virginia, and six-tenths to the State of Virginia, her military population, being six-tenths of the entire military population according to the census, would be about 120,000.

While that is larger than the military population of North Carolina, yet the military strength of these States was so nearly equal that a comparison can justly be made between them to illustrate how fully and nobly North Carolina performed her duty to the Confederacy.

The losses attributed to Virginia (see Fox's *Regimental Losses*, p. 554) were: killed outright on the battlefield 5,328, and died of wounds 2,519, a total of 7,847. There is no reason why Virginia's losses suffered on the battlefield should not have been as accurately reported as those of North Carolina. North Carolina's losses are reported at 19,673; Virginia's at 7,847, from which it appears that North Carolina lost on the battlefield more than twice as many soldiers as Virginia did.

The same authority states that Virginia lost 6,947 from disease, and North Carolina lost 20,602—nearly three times as many.

The inference is irresistible that North Carolina contributed more men to the Confederate service than Virginia did.

At page 553, Fox states that North Carolina had 69 regiments and 4 battalions of infantry, one regiment and five battalions of cavalry, and 2 battalions of heavy artillery and 9 battalions of light artillery. As a matter of fact, it appears

that North Carolina furnished 84 regiments, 16 battalions, and 13 unattached companies, besides the companies and individuals serving in commands from other States, and 9 regiments of Home Guards, and the militia rendering short terms of duty. (Vol. IV, p. 224, Reg. Histories). Virginia is credited with 65 regiments and 10 battalions of infantry, 22 regiments and 11 battalions of cavalry, one regiment of partisan rangers, one regiment of artillery and 53 batteries of light artillery. But how many of these organizations were maintained with their full complement of men ready for active duty does not appear. It does appear, however, that North Carolina furnished more than 120,000 soldiers, including Home Guard, out of a total enrollment of 600,000, leaving only 480,000 to be apportioned among the other States. It also appears that her losses, both on the battlefield and by disease, indicate that her contribution to the Confederate Army was somewhat more than the proportion of one to five, while her military population stood in proportion of one to nine. .

This record is one that every Confederate in North Carolina can recall with the utmost pride and satisfaction. It sustains the claim made in behalf of our people, that they sent to the war for Southern independence a greater number of soldiers in proportion to population than any other Southern State, and that they suffered the heaviest losses.

RALEIGH, N. C.,

25 August, 1904.

THE MEMORIALS AT BETHEL, CHICKAMAUGA, AND APPOMATTOX.

I. BETHEL.

Following up the interest aroused by the preceding reports to the State Literary and Historical Association and the publication thereof, the General Assembly passed the acts which herein appear.

[PUBLIC LAWS OF 1905—CHAPTER 680.]

AN ACT TO PLACE TABLETS TO NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS AT BETHEL AND CHICKAMAUGA.

Whereas, at the battle of Bethel, Va., on the tenth of June, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, Henry L. Wyatt, a private soldier from North Carolina, was the first Confederate soldier killed in battle, and at Chickamauga North Carolina troops made the farthest advance, both on the nineteenth and twentieth of September, eighteen hundred and sixty-three; and whereas, there is no memorial to mark these historic spots save a pine board tacked to a telegraph pole at Chickamauga, on which field the positions held by other troops from our sister Southern States are marked by costly and appropriate memorials: now, therefore,

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That in honor of so much valor, tablets with appropriate inscriptions shall be erected to mark the farthest advance of the North Carolina troops at Chickamauga, at a cost not exceeding five hundred dollars for said tablets, including all accompanying expenses, and Judge A. C. Avery, chairman, James M. Ray, M. C. Toms, Isaac H. Bailey, and Henry A. Chambers are hereby appointed special commissioners to prepare suitable inscriptions and procure and supervise the erection and placing the tablets.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of erecting a tablet to mark the spot where Wyatt fell, Maj. E. J. Hale, chairman, Capt. W. E. Kyle, Capt. John H. Thorpe, Capt. W. B. Taylor, and R. H. Ricks are hereby appointed a special commission to prepare suitable inscriptions and supervise the erection and placing of the tablets to mark the appropriate spot at Bethel, Va., at a cost not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars for said purpose, including all attendant expenses.

SEC. 3. The above sums are hereby appropriated to be paid by order of the chairman for the respective commissions and approved by the Governor.

[PUBLIC LAWS OF 1905—CHAPTER 10.]

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE ERECTION OF MEMORIALS
AT APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE.

Whereas, all North Carolinians are justly proud of their State's glorious record in the War Between the States, and that her heroic soldiers were "first at Bethel, farthest at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, last at Appomattox"; and whereas a deed has been generously given by a gallant officer of the Union Army, Maj. George A. Armes, U. S. A., retired, to Hon. Henry A. London, for three lots or parcels of land on the battlefield of Appomattox Court-House for the purpose of placing thereon permanent memorials to commemorate:

1. The last volley fired by Cox's Brigade of Grimes' Division.
2. The capture of a battery of artillery by Roberts' Brigade of Cavalry, and
3. The last skirmish by Capt. W. T. Jenkins;

And a tender of said lots has been made by said London as a gift to the State of North Carolina: now, therefore,

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That his Excellency, the Governor of this State, is hereby authorized and directed to receive, for the State, a deed from said London (as a gift from said Armes) for the aforesaid three lots of land on the battlefield of Appomattox Court-House, in the State of Virginia.

SEC. 2. That the Governor is hereby authorized and directed to appoint, every four years, five special commissioners, to be known as "The North Carolina Appomattox Commission," who shall serve for four years and until their successors are appointed, with full power to select their chairman, and to fill any vacancy in their number that may occur, and to serve without compensation, except their actual necessary expenses, for a time not exceeding six days in any one year, which are to be paid by the State Treasurer upon the warrant of the State Auditor, who shall issue his warrant when approved by the Governor.

SEC. 3. That the said commissioners shall have the charge and control of the said lots, and of the erection thereon of such permanent memorials as they may deem proper; but no cost of such memorials shall be paid by the State, except a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, which is hereby appropriated for the erection of a monument on the lot where the last volley was fired by Cox's Brigade of Grimes' Division.

Under the authority of the first-named act, the commissioners authorized to erect the Bethel memorial met on the battlefield, June 10, 1905, and amid a vast concourse of people unveiled, with appropriate ceremonies, a monument

and tablet. The monument was the gift of citizens of Virginia and North Carolina, and contained the following inscription:

To Commemorate the Battle of Bethel, June 10, 1861, first conflict between the Confederate Land Forces, and in memory of Henry Lawson Wyatt, private Co. A, First Regiment N. C. Volunteers, and the first Confederate soldier to fall in actual battle.

Erected by the Bethel Monument Association of Virginia and North Carolina June 10th, 1905.

The tablet reads as follows:

On this spot, June 10th, 1861, fell Henry Lawson Wyatt, private Co. A, First Regiment N. C. Volunteers. This stone, placed here by the courtesy of Virginia, is erected by authority of the State of North Carolina.

E. J. HALE,
W. E. KYLE,
JNO. H. THORPE,
W. B. TAYLOR,
R. H. RICKS,
Commissioners.

II. CHICKAMAUGA.

Under the authority also of Chapter 680, Public Laws of 1905, the commissioners appointed to mark the position of the North Carolina troops at Chickamauga unveiled, November 10, 1905, four monuments with inscriptions as follows:

I. On the monument in the north end of Kelly Field:

SIXTIETH

ERECTED BY THE
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
TO MARK THE POINT ATTAINED BY THE
SIXTIETH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT
ON SEPT. 20, 1863,
COMMANDED BY LIEUT.-COL. J. M. RAY.
CAPT. J. THOMAS WEAVER
SECOND IN COMMAND.

NORTH
CAROLINA

II. On the monument in Grose Field, near Brock House, north of Vineyard House:

NORTH CAROLINA.

ERECTED BY THE
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
TO MARK THE POINT ATTAINED BY THE
THIRTY-NINTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT
WITH THE
TWENTY-FIFTH ARKANSAS REGIMENT
IN A CHARGE SEPT. 19, 1863.
ABOUT ONE MILE NORTHWEST OF THIS POINT
THE SAME REGIMENT,
ON THE 20TH OF SEPTEMBER,
AIDED IN THE CAPTURE
OF NINE GUNS.

III. On the monument on Snodgrass Hill, near observation tower:

NORTH CAROLINA.

ERECTED BY THE
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
TO MARK THE EXTREME POINT ATTAINED IN A
CHARGE BY THE RIGHT OF THE
FIFTY-EIGHTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT
ABOUT 6 P. M.,
SEPTEMBER 20, 1863.

IV. On the monument at side of the road on the western ridge or spur of Snodgrass Hill:

NORTH CAROLINA.

THE THIRTY-NINTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT,
WITH MCNAIR'S BRIGADE,
CROSSED THE FEDERAL LINE HERE
AND ADVANCED TO THE
BOTTOM OF THE DEEP HOLLOW BEYOND.
ABOUT SUNSET
SEPTEMBER 20, 1863.

Still another monument at Chickamauga bears the following inscription:

(Monogram N. C.)

(Confederate and State Flags.)

BY THE

ASHEVILLE CHAPTER

OF THE

DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY,

AND FRIENDS,

THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED COMMEMORATING
THE HEROIC PART TAKEN BY THE SIXTIETH REGI-
MENT NORTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS IN THE
GREAT BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA,

SEPTEMBER 20, 1863,

WHERE IT WAS GIVEN THE POST OF HONOR BY
STATE COMMISSION, APPOINTED IN 1893, TO LO-
CATE THE POSITION OF EACH NORTH CAROLINA
REGIMENT IN THAT BATTLE, AND A MARKER PLACED
ON EAST MARGIN OF LAFAYETTE PIKE IN KELLY'S
FIELD, BEARING THIS INSCRIPTION:

*This marks the spot reached by the Sixtieth
Regiment North Carolina Volunteers, about noon,
on September 20, 1863—the farthest point at-
tained by Confederate troops in that famous
charge.*

NORTH CAROLINA.

III. APPOMATTOX.

By authority of Chapter 10, Public Laws of 1905, a monument was erected at Appomattox, and on April 11, 1905, this monument was unveiled with imposing ceremony. The inscriptions upon this monument are:

(North Side.)

LAST AT APPOMATTOX.

AT THIS PLACE THE NORTH CAROLINA BRIGADE
OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL W. R. COX OF GRIMES' DIVISION
FIRED THE LAST VOLLEY 9 APRIL, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL BRYAN GRIMES OF NORTH CAROLINA
PLANNED THE LAST BATTLE FOUGHT BY THE
ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA AND COMMANDED THE INFANTRY
ENGAGED THEREIN, THE GREATER PART OF WHOM
WERE NORTH CAROLINIANS.

THIS STONE IS ERECTED BY THE AUTHORITY OF

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF

NORTH CAROLINA

IN GRATEFUL AND PERPETUAL MEMORY OF THE
VALOR, ENDURANCE, AND PATRIOTISM
OF HER SONS

WHO FOLLOWED WITH UNSHAKEN FIDELITY THE
FORTUNES OF THE CONFEDERACY TO THIS CLOSING SCENE,
FAITHFUL TO THE END.
ERECTED 9 APRIL, 1905.

NORTH CAROLINA APPOMATTOX COMMISSION:

H. A. LONDON, Chairman,
W. T. JENKINS,

E. J. HOLT,
CYRUS B. WATSON,

A. D. MCGILL.

(South Side.)

NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS PAROLED AT APPOMATTOX.

Brigades.

Cox's	572
Grimes'	530
Johnson's	463
Lewis'	447
Cooke's	560
Lane's	570
Scales'	719
Ransom's	435
McRae's	442
Barringer's	93
Roberts'	93
Maj.-Gen. Grimes and Staff.....	8
Cummings', Miller's, Williams', and Ramsey's Batteries	150

Total North Carolinians paroled..5,082

(West End.)

Esse Quam Videri.

FIRST AT BETHEL.

FARTHEST TO THE FRONT AT GETTYSBURG
AND CHICKAMAUGA.

LAST AT APPOMATTOX.

(East End.)

NORTH CAROLINA.

1860.

White population	629,942
Military population	115,369

1861-'65.

Troops furnished	127,000
Killed in battle.....	14,522
Died from wounds.....	5,151
Died from disease.....	20,602

There were also erected two markers with the following inscriptions:

NORTH CAROLINA.

AT THIS PLACE WAS FOUGHT THE LAST SKIRMISH
BY CAPTAIN WILSON T. JENKINS
OF THE FOURTEENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT,
COMMANDING TWENTY-FIVE MEN
OF THE
FOURTH AND FOURTEENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENTS.

NORTH CAROLINA.

THE LAST FEDERAL BATTERY
TAKEN BY THE CONFEDERATES WAS CAPTURED BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA CAVALRY BRIGADE
OF BRIG.-GEN. W. P. ROBERTS
AT THIS PLACE.

The following ode was read by the author, Henry Jerome Stockard:

THE LAST CHARGE AT APPOMATTOX.

Scarred on a hundred fields before,
Naked and starved and travel-sore,
Each man a tiger, hunted,
They stood at bay as brave as Huns,
Last of the Old South's splendid sons,
Flanked by ten thousand shotted guns,
And by ten thousand fronted.

Scorched by the cannon's molten breath,
They'd climbed the trembling walls of death
And set their standards tattered;
Had charged at the bugle's stirring blare
Through bolted gloom and godless glare
From the dead's reddened gulches, where
The searching shrapnel shattered.

They formed—that Carolina band—
With Grimes, the Spartan, in command,
And, at the word of Gordon,
Through splintered fire and stifling smoke
They struck with lightning's scathing stroke—
Those doomed and desperate men—and broke
Across that iron cordon.

They turned in sullen, slow retreat—
Ah, there are laurels of defeat!—
Turned, for the Chief had spoken;
With one last shot hurled back the foe,
And prayed the trump of doom to blow,
Now that the Southern stars were low,
The Southern bars were broken.

Sometime the calm, impartial years
Will tell what made them dead to tears
Of loved ones left to languish;
What nerved them for the lonely guard,
For cleaving blade and mangling shard;
What gave them strength in tent and ward
To drain the dregs of anguish.

But the far ages will propound
What never Sphinx had lore to sound—
Why, in such fires of rancor,
The God of Love should find it meet
For Him, with Grant as sledge, to beat
On Lee, the anvil, at such heat.
Our Nation's great sheet-anchor.

THE COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA

(NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY).

MRS. EMMA MAFFITT.

The above Society was organized in Wilmington, N. C., in March, 1894. Societies of Colonial Dames had been formed in other of the thirteen Colonial States, and an appeal was made to Mrs. George Wilson Kidder, of this city, who had become known through her services as one of the Lady Managers of the World's Fair, to organize a society of Colonial Dames in North Carolina. She accordingly called together a number of ladies, stated the object of the meeting, and invited them to join her in forming a society.

She was chosen President, the other officers being Mrs. Adam Empie and Mrs. Clayton Giles for Vice-Presidents; Miss Adelaide Meares, Secretary; Miss Louise Cutlar (the late Mrs. Justice), Treasurer, and Miss Mary S. Kingsbury, Historian. A charter was obtained, and thus this Society, of about fifteen women, started in its career.

The constitution of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America is also that of the State Societies. Its preamble shows the purposes of its organization, and is as follows:

"Whereas, history shows that the remembrance of a nation's glory in the past stimulates to national greatness in the future, and that successive generations are awakened to truer patriotism and aroused to nobler endeavor by the contemplation of the heroic deeds of the forefathers: therefore, the Society of Colonial Dames of America has been formed, that the descendants of those men who in the Colonial period, by their rectitude, courage, and self-denial, prepared the way for success in that struggle which gained for the country its liberty and constitution, may associate themselves together to do honor to the virtues of their forefathers, and to encourage in all who come under their influence, true patriotism, built on a knowledge of the self-sacrifice and heroism of those men of the colonies who laid the foundation of this great Nation.

"The objects of this Society shall be to collect and preserve manuscripts, traditions, relics, and mementoes of bygone days; to preserve and restore buildings connected with the early history of our country; to diffuse healthful and intelligent information concerning the past, to create a popular interest in our colonial history, to stimulate a spirit of true patriotism and a genuine love of country, and to impress upon the young the sacred obligation of honoring the memory of those heroic ancestors whose ability, valor, sufferings, and achievements are beyond all praise."

These being the purposes and objects of these societies, how has the North Carolina Society fulfilled its mission?

Its first and honored President, Mrs. Kidder, was faithful and untiring in her labors in its behalf. Ignorant of parliamentary rules, yet when these were enunciated from the chair they elicited a hearty response and cordial support from its members. A "Reading Circle" was formed for the study of Colonial history, which met twice in each month. Many original papers, prepared by different well-known gentlemen of the city, were read at these meetings. Colonel A. M. Waddell read to us his valuable address, "America Before Columbus"; the late Major Graham Daves, a paper on "The Society of the Cincinnati"; Captain E. S. Martin, one on "Cornelius Harnett," one of the Colonial and Revolutionary patriots of North Carolina, and Mr. William McKoy, one on the "History of Hilton," the home of Harnett. Mr. James Sprunt's valuable contribution to North Carolina history, "A Colonial Plantation and Its Proprietors," was read at several of these meetings, as well as "The Colonial Records of North Carolina."

At an entertainment given for the purpose by this Society on May 6, 1897, Mrs. Robert Cotton recited her beautiful poem, "The White Doe," which occasion was its first introduction to the public.

A chosen object for the labors of the Society was the erection of a suitable monument to the memory of Cornelius Harnett, and several entertainments were given to raise funds for this purpose. For several years we have appropriated each year fifty dollars from our treasury to this object, and,

this year, a more determined effort is being made to bring this work to fruition. The city has donated a site for this monument within a stone's throw of the grave of Harnett at the intersection of two of the principal streets of Wilmington. The corner-stone of this monument was laid by the Masonic Grand Lodge of North Carolina—Harnett having been Deputy Grand Master of Masons prior to the Revolution. On this occasion orations were delivered by Lieut.-Gov. Francis D. Winston, Grand Master of Masons, and Col. Alfred Moore Waddell, Mayor of the City of Wilmington. The North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames which is erecting this monument was present in a body, and the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati was also present, as the guests of the Colonial Dames.

At the very beginning of the Spanish-American War a National Relief Association was organized by the National Council of Colonial Dames, then in council at Washington, D. C. Mrs. Mason, of Rhode Island, offered the resolution to form this "Relief Association to administer to any suffering, privation, or distress incident to the war," and Mrs. Kidder, the amendment, "that the State Societies shall form into a National Relief Association, and that all funds collected shall go to the Treasurer of the National Society." To this fund the North Carolina Society contributed \$125; and to the Worth Bagley monument, raised to the foremost among the daring spirits and martyrs to this cause, Ensign Worth Bagley, the sum of \$25.

Early in the year 1899 steps were taken by the Society to obtain the custody of the ruins of the Church of St. Philip on the Cape Fear River, near Wilmington. By consent of the Bishop of East Carolina, Rt. Rev. A. A. Watson, D. D., the Society became the trustee of this property, which consists of four acres of glebe land, on which this church was erected early in the eighteenth century. In 1725, Colonel Maurice Moore, brother of "King Roger" Moore, deeded 320 acres of land to be laid out for a town. Four acres of this

he set apart for the erection of this church and a rectory. Surrounding this church are many ancient graves of distinguished men and women, marked by beautiful monuments which had either been broken and displaced by cannon balls during the late war, or, in course of time, had sunk into the earth. All of these have been repaired, raised, and cared for by this Society. The ravages of decay in the walls of the church have been arrested and a long and substantial wharf built through the exertions of Mrs. James Sprunt, chairman of the "St. Philip's Committee," who has been devoted to this work.

The year 1900, having been the one hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the deeding of this land, the occasion was celebrated on the grounds with appropriate ceremonies. The day selected being the festival of "St. Philip and St. James," the saints for whom the twin parishes of St. Philip, at Brunswick, and St. James, in Wilmington, were named. The Rector of St. James held a short religious service within the walls of the church. A valuable historical address was read by Mr. James Sprunt, and an oration delivered by Capt. E. S. Martin, who pointed out to the assembled guests the historic points of the locality, while describing the defense of Fort Anderson, the fortifications of which surround the church. Thus was inaugurated this important work of the Society, to which place yearly pilgrimages are made.

At our annual election in 1900, our valued President, Mrs. Kidder, through whose exertions the Society had attained a high degree of proficiency and had extended its membership over the State, declined re-election, and Mrs. Gaston Meares was unanimously elected to the Presidency.

The wonderful ability, energy, and zeal of this lady are too well known to need words of commendation from this humble follower. Her many works attest all these, and more. Soon after her election, Mrs. Meares visited several cities and towns of the State where we had members and organized "Historic Circles." These "Circles" were pledged to collect,

as far as possible, all historic data of the Colonial period and records from private sources for the benefit of the objects of the Society. Their work was to be one of research, preservation, and study, thus awakening a greater interest in such knowledge. They are doing most excellent work, especially that in Raleigh under the leadership of Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, which, with its outlying members in adjoining counties, now numbers forty; and that under Miss Julia J. Robertson in Charlotte, numbering twenty members. They are thoroughly organized, and their work and interest are appreciated.

In 1891 was published our "Register," a work of months of arduous labor. In 1902 the Society received from a life member, Miss Ida N. Moore, of Washington, D. C., on behalf of herself and her sister, the late Mrs. James E. Harvey, lineal descendants of Colonel Maurice Moore, a gift of five hundred dollars, as a contribution to the St. Philip fund. With a portion of this gift the Society, at the suggestion of our President, Mrs. Meares, caused a tablet to be prepared to the memory of Colonel Maurice Moore and placed on the east wall of the church of St. Philip, north of the chancel window.

To the persevering exertions of Mrs. Meares and Mrs. Kidder we are indebted for the beautiful mural tablet unveiled on the occasion of our third annual pilgrimage.

The Hon. H. G. Connor, President of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, delivered the address, and the ceremonies were most imposing.

The Dames, with their guests, some two hundred in number, and a guard of honor from the Light Infantry, boarded the steamers for the trip to old Brunswick. Little Miss Florence Kidder, daughter of our former President, and a lineal descendant of Colonel Maurice Moore, unveiled the tablet, which is of white marble, beautifully inscribed and riveted to the wall with brass rods. The inscription reads:

A MEMORIAL
TO
COL. MAURICE MOORE,
GENTLEMAN AND SOLDIER OF THE KING,
WHO IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1725
FOUNDED IN A WILDERNESS
THE TOWN OF BRUNSWICK,
RESERVING FOR THE GLORY OF GOD THE
PORTION OF LAND ON WHICH WAS BUILT
THIS PARISH CHURCH OF ST. PHILIP.
ALSO TO THE
HEROES AND PATRIOTS OF THE LOWER
CAPE FEAR,
WHOSE BRAVE DEEDS ILLUSTRATED ITS
COLONIAL HISTORY.
BRUNSWICK WAS FOR A TIME THE SEAT
OF THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT IN THE PROVINCE
AND THE RESIDENCE OF ITS GOVERNORS,
JOHNSTON, DOBBS, TRYON.
IT WAS THE SCENE OF THE FIRST ARMED RESISTANCE
TO THE STAMP ACT IN ANY AMERICAN COLONY,
WHEN CITIZEN-SOLDIERS,
LED BY
HUGH WADDELL AND JOHN ASHE,
DEFIED THE POWER OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND PREVENTED THE LANDING OF THE STAMPS
FROM HER SHIPS OF WAR NOV. 28, 1765.

THIS TABLET IS THE GIFT OF
SELINA M. HARVEY AND IDA N. MOORE,
DESCENDANTS OF MAURICE MOORE,
AND WAS ERECTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY OF THE COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA,
A. D. 1902.

*"For these are deeds that should not pass away,
and names that must not wither."*

At the first meeting of our "Historic Circle" in 1901, our President, Mrs. Meares, entertained us delightfully by reading a paper prepared by herself, "A Group of My Ancestral Dames of the Colonial Period." The records of this paper covered a period of two hundred and thirty years, its annals beginning in 1671.

At our next meeting was read by Mrs. M. F. H. Gouverneur a manuscript, "Diary of Sally Fairfax," a Virginia girl of the Colonial period, whose short life was full of promise, and whose quaint comments on passing events were enjoyed. This lady was a daughter of Lord Rev. Bryan Fairfax and Elizabeth Cary, his wife. Her home was "Toulston," the family estate. She was the "Pet Marjorie" of General Washington and danced with him at "Kleggett's Tavern" in Alexandria, at a ball given on the anniversary of her sixteenth birthday.

When at the Council of 1900 the National Society of Colonial Dames decided to erect a tablet at Arlington to the memory of the officers, soldiers, and sailors killed, or who died of wounds received in action, during the Spanish-American War, the North Carolina Society contributed one hundred dollars towards the expense and ten dollars towards the "Record Book" of names and services of these officers, soldiers, and sailors.

At various times a prize has been offered to the pupil of any of the Wilmington public schools sending in the best essay on Colonial history. I am told that there has been a wonderful awakening of interest in historical study among these schools, for which the North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames can surely claim some credit. Having been the first of the patriotic societies in the State, and, I think, the only one in the city, their researches among the old archives of historic records stimulated all classes to efforts in this direction.

In order to preserve the many addresses, orations, and valuable papers read before them, this Society has collected and

had them published in pamphlet form, under the title of "Old Brunswick Pilgrimages," among them "Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington," so full of information, by Mr. James Sprunt. The address of Hon. H. G. Connor has also been published and beautifully illustrated with a picture of the unveiling of the tablet at St. Philip, and one of William Hooper, signer of the Declaration of Independence.

It has been impossible to do justice, in a less limited space, to the many works of the North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames during the ten years of its existence, and I trust that, as we are to be judged by our works, this privilege will be permitted us by the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Only two of the original papers read at the meetings of the "Historic Circles" have been commented upon in this brief synopsis, and these were brought forward to show that the spirit which inspires our efforts is great enough to overcome that innate shrinking modesty so characteristic of the Dame of ye olden time.

THE DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

(NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY).

MRS. SPIER WHITAKER.*

In a circular entitled "Concerning D. R. and D. A. R.," published in 1898 by the General Society Daughters of the Revolution, Miss Adaline W. Sterling, late President of that Society, states the *raison d'être* thereof as follows:

"The question is often asked, What is the difference between the Daughters of the Revolution and the Daughters of the American Revolution, and why are there two societies apparently with the same objects and aims? It is the purpose of this leaflet to set forth the difference, so that a person contemplating joining one of these patriotic societies may be able to make intelligent choice.

"The Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution was organized in Washington, October, 1890, for the laudable purpose of a patriotic society. But in the article of the constitution providing for admission there was a peculiar clause. After describing the services of the patriot ancestor necessary to make the descendant eligible, the article further provides that any person descended 'FROM THE MOTHER OF SUCH A PATRIOT,'† is *also* eligible to the Society. This clause remained in force until 1895, and it is not an unreasonable supposition that many availed themselves of such easy terms of entrance. In fact, the Lineage Book of the Daughters of the American Revolution shows many charter members who entered on such collateral claims.

"In application, the 'mother of a patriot' clause worked as follows: Suppose a Revolutionary mother had several sons, one a Patriot, the others Tories, or stay-at-homes; suppose she had besides several daughters and that she herself had no particular sympathy with the cause of Independence nor contributed in any way toward the same. Now, on the strength of her being the mother of the one patriot son, the female descendants of all the other sons, and of the daughters as well, were equally eligible to the Daughters of the American Revolution, for they could all claim kin with the 'mother of a patriot.' This eligibility, it will be seen, was based on sentiment, not on descent.

* Founder and first Regent of the North Carolina Society.

† This clause was inserted avowedly to admit members of the Washington family who based their claim on descent from Mary Ball, the mother of George Washington. But the benefits of the clause were not restricted.

"As already stated, this clause was *not* repealed until 1895, after the Daughters of the Revolution Society was increasing in strength and numbers. Even at the present time the Daughters of the American Revolution provision for entrance has a clause susceptible of various interpretations. This is the 'recognized patriot' provision. Just what constituted a 'recognized patriot' is a matter of conjecture. In what did such an one differ from a soldier, sailor, civil officer, or one who rendered material aid to the cause?

"The main difference between the two societies is this question of membership on collateral claims. The D. R. contend that to be 'Daughters' we must have had grandfathers in some degree in Revolutionary service; that uncles, cousins, and other relatives remotely removed can not be termed *direct ancestors*.

"A point often made is that the D. A. R. have a national charter. From the fact that the Society was incorporated in the District of Columbia, where the only body to confer a charter of any kind is Congress, this claim loses its significance. The Society stands upon exactly the same level as any other corporation chartered in the District, and its powers are no more extended than those of any other patriotic organization.

"Now as to the Daughters of the Revolution. The Society was organized in September, 1891, by certain members of the D. A. R. who were dissatisfied with the loose conditions of admission implied in the 'mother of a patriot' clause. The Society was duly incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purposes. The requirements for admission were fixed in the beginning as lineal descent from a Revolutionary ancestor and unquestioned proof of the patriotic service of such ancestor. Collateral claims were absolutely barred out, and such statements as 'he rendered important service in the Revolutionary War,' and 'he was an officer in the Revolution under Washington,' were not accepted. Applicants were required to make affidavit as to their line of descent and to give documentary proof or other trustworthy evidence of ancestor's service. The rules thus laid down have been strictly adhered to, and no considerations of wealth or social position have caused or will cause the slightest deviation. The pervading spirit of the D. R. is purely democratic. This is shown most conclusively in the matter of insignia: there is but one badge for all Daughters recognizable as such throughout our country. No jewels and no bars are permitted to show difference in wealth or lineage.

* * * * *

"The D. R. membership is large and is steadily increasing: our method of strict requirements and careful scrutiny of applications makes the increase healthful and desirable.

* * * * *

"If one becomes a Daughter of the Revolution she may be sure that there can never be any question about her status as a lineal

descendant of a Revolutionary ancestor. She belongs to a Society where all members stand on an equal footing; she need apologize for no associate or make elaborate explanation why such an one was admitted."

Says Miss Mary A. Phillips, former State Historian of the New York Society Daughters of the Revolution, in a paper read before a meeting of the General Society at the Hotel Waldorf, May 28, 1896:

"The Daughters of the American Revolution, having at the founding of their Society made the mistake of leaving their entrance door open for collateral descendants as well as lineal, and having continued their hospitable welcome to both for years, until the easy growth of the Society numbered thousands, in my opinion made a mistake ever to close it, unless they carefully passed in review every application and courteously set aside all not up to the lineal standard. If this had been done the two Societies of the Daughters of the Revolution and the Daughters of the American Revolution could have joined forces and become one.

*"The number of collateral members in the D. A. R. is of no importance, one or one thousand. * * ** We all know that our collateral ancestry, even when we have the lineal, has of record often greater service and wider influence than our lineal. But *a niece is not a daughter.* While the niece may be equally if not more charming than the daughter, it would be placing both the cousins and the Society in a false position to claim for the niece the lineal descent which is not hers. * * * Each Society should be what it claims to be."

A writer in the early days of both organizations thus concludes a communication to the *Saturday Evening Gazette*:

"As a closing statement I have retained a very important point of difference between the two Societies, the importance of which will be more evident in later generations. Supposing that war or fire or flood or the ravages of time have destroyed the Revolutionary records of a family (and many applicants have already been confronted by these foes), when an important law matter arises that necessitates the verification of some family tradition or statement, in order to make good a claim or prove an inheritance, the only proof of ancestry remaining by which to complete identity is a certificate of membership in the D. A. R. or D. R. Court records show that vast estates have turned on as apparently insignificant evidence.

"The claimant produces the certificate of his mother or grandmother, which the Judge examines, and, if the membership is in the

Society of the Daughters of the Revolution, accepts the validity of the evidence. But take a certificate of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and there is immediately a pretty case for the lawyers, as the Judges can not decide whether the ANCESTOR or only a collateral to the family was the owner of the property in question. The lineal ancestor of the claimant may have had no legal claim to the property, being not in the direct line, but only a relative."

It will be seen from the foregoing that the Society Daughters of the Revolution is an *evolution* from the Daughters of the American Revolution, the elder antedating the younger by less than one year; that the D. R., as well as the D. A. R., is a national organization duly chartered, and that while the D. A. R. for years admitted collateral as well as lineal descendants of Revolutionary patriots, the D. R. separated for and was founded on the great basic principle of lineal descent from such patriots, compared to which all differences in the organization and government of the two Societies are insignificant. In other words, in the D. R. *ancestral uncles*, however illustrious, do not count. And as a chain is no stronger than its weakest part, the number of collaterals—"one or one thousand"—in the D. A. R. is immaterial.

The General Society Daughters of the Revolution, of which each of its State Societies is a component part, bearing the same relation to it as a State to the Federal Government, is composed entirely of women whose descent from patriots of the Revolution has been, in each individual case, solemnly attested before an officer of the law qualified to administer oaths. And so strict and scrutinizing is the examination by an investigating committee, of applications for admission, both as to service of ancestors and proof thereof, and so rigid the requirement of a *deposition* in support of the descent of an applicant, *as alleged in her application*, that enrollment in this Society or any of its State subdivisions might well constitute, in a court of law, proof of said service and of the descent claimed.

As stated in the Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the General Society Daughters of the Revolution, held

in New York City, May 10-15, 1903, this Society "has State organizations in seventeen States, as follows: Colorado, Kentucky, New Jersey, Delaware, New Hampshire, Illinois, Maryland, New York, Indiana, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Iowa, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, also Long Island. Members at large are distributed in Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Virginia, Alabama, Kansas, Nebraska, Washington, D. C., California, Louisiana, Ohio, Canada, Maine, Mexico, Philippine Islands, Sweden, France, Michigan, Texas, Vermont, Missouri, Georgia, Florida.

The North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution was organized in Raleigh October 19, 1896, the anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis, with Mrs. Spier Whitaker, Regent; Mrs. Alexander Q. Holladay, Vice-Regent; Mrs. Hubert Haywood, Secretary; Miss Mabel Hale, Treasurer; Miss Marion T. Haywood, Registrar.* Regular bi-monthly meetings were held at the residences of members, in turn. On April 6, 1897, a provisional constitution and by-laws were adopted, the objects of the Society, as stated in the constitution, being "to perpetuate the patriotic spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence; to commemorate Revolutionary events, especially those connected with North Carolina; to collect and preserve rolls, records, and manuscripts relating to the Revolution, particularly those pertaining to North Carolina; when practicable, to mark Revolutionary sites within the State; to encourage historical research and to promote a feeling of friendship among the members.

Recognizing its obligations the Society has labored steadily to promote these and kindred objects. Upon the outbreak of the war with Spain it resolved itself, in combination with

*Upon the resignation of Mrs. Whitaker, in 1902, the Vice-Regent, Mrs. D. H. Hill, widow of the illustrious Confederate General, D. H. Hill, succeeded to the unexpired term, at the close of which she was duly elected Regent and served as such until death robbed the Society of this beloved officer in December, 1904. Her successor, Mrs. T. K. Bruner, acted efficiently and acceptably as presiding officer—her resignation being repeatedly refused—until the last election placed at the helm the present Regent, Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

other ladies, into a Soldiers' Aid Society, of which Mrs. Charles E. Johnson was President, and by means of organized effort rendered whatever assistance was possible to our North Carolina troops. In May, 1898, it donated, by subscription of members, twenty-five dollars for the Worth Bagley monument to be erected in Raleigh—not yet materialized. In February, 1900, upon request from the General Society for a contribution to the Valley Forge Memorial, it sent twenty-two dollars, individual subscriptions of members, for that object of national interest. In March of that year, likewise upon invitation of the General Society, it voted ten dollars from the treasury towards the purchase of a Loving Cup, a testimonial to the retiring President, Mrs. Henry Sanger Snow. In February, 1903, an entertainment was given by Raleigh ladies which added to the treasury forty-seven dollars.

In response to a request from Mr. Frederick B. Richards, Secretary of the Historical Society of Ticonderoga, that the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution would use its influence to secure the Government ownership of Ticonderoga and to prevent its further destruction, at a meeting on February 15, 1898, the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution are warmly in favor of the Government ownership and preservation of Fort Ticonderoga, around which cluster such glorious historic memories, and around whose walls, along the shores of Champlain and Horicon, were the school-grounds of the Revolution.

Resolved, That our Senators, Pritchard and Butler, and our white Representatives, Skinner, Fowler, Stroud, Kitchin, Shuford, Martin, Linney, and Pearson, be and they are hereby requested to lend their influence to the passage of a bill for this purpose.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the Secretary of this Society to each of the above-named North Carolina Senators and Representatives and to Mr. F. B. Richards, Secretary of the Ticonderoga Historical Society.

Copies were accordingly sent as specified.

At a meeting of the Society on April 19, 1898, the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, the following resolution was passed in response to a letter from Senator Butler:

Resolved, That as North Carolinians and Daughters of the Revolution, we most heartily and enthusiastically advocate and request the passage by the House of Representatives of the United States of the bill passed by the Senate, and now pending in the House, for an appropriation of \$10,000 to carry into effect, though so tardily, two resolutions of the Continental Congress, passed respectively in 1777 and 1781, directing the erection of monuments to the memory of Brigadier-Generals Francis Nash and William Lee Davidson of North Carolina, who were slain—the one at Germantown, the other at Cowan's Ford on the Catawba River—while gallantly fighting for the independence of these United States.

A circular-letter containing this resolution was published in May following and a copy addressed to each of our above-named Senators and Representatives in Congress, requesting his influence and vote for the proposed measure, and a number of copies were sent for distribution in the Senate and the House.

Early in the history of the Society a motion was made and carried that each member write a sketch of the ancestor in right of whose services she joined the organization. A number of interesting sketches have accordingly been written, on paper of uniform size, with a view to binding in manuscript, and the Society has now quite a good collection of these memoirs which may hereafter be valuable for historic purposes. A hall has been rented for business meetings, where historical and other papers are read, and these and other matters germane to the Society are discussed, and where are kept its nucleus of a library and of a collection of relics. A Genealogical Department for the tracing of North Carolina ancestry has been established, which has been placed in charge of Mrs. Helen DeB. Wills. Coats of arms are emblazoned and pictures of old homes and portraits are procured, if possible, by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton.

To stimulate among the young excellence of composition and the study of North Carolina history, the Society has

offered for the past two years a gold medal to the pupil of any of the Raleigh Graded Schools for white children who should write the best essay on some topic of State history. This was won in 1904 by Miss Bessie Ivey of the Wiley School, whose essay on "The Establishment of the State Capital at Raleigh, N. C.," was a creditable little history of Raleigh. Master James H. Watson, also of the Wiley School, won the medal in 1905, for the best essay on "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," and this prize was presented to him, in behalf of the Society, by Col. J. Bryan Grimes, on the occasion of the celebration of North Carolina Day, at the High School, on December 22d. Hereafter competition for the medal will be restricted to girls.

In concert with other patriotic societies, the North Carolina Daughters of the Revolution took the lead in petitioning the Legislature during its session of 1905 to erect a properly constructed fire-proof building, as a Hall of History, in which to deposit and preserve the State Library, with its 40,000 volumes, 1,848 copies of bound newspapers, running back more than a hundred years, and other priceless records, now continually in danger of destruction by fire, and the loss of which would be irreparable, and to donate to the North Carolina Daughters of the Revolution and the other historical societies of the State the rooms of one entire floor of the building, to be used by these societies *in perpetuum* for meetings and other objects of their organization. This petition was ably and eloquently advocated by members of the General Assembly before that body, but the effort failed, as the Legislature was divided on the question of a Hall of History or enlargement of the Capitol.

In May, 1905, an entertainment was given by the Society, in Raleigh, which defrayed all the expenses of a reception by them to the General Society at Asheville, N. C., during its fourteenth annual meeting—held at the latter place, in the month mentioned—and included a surplus of twenty-five dollars, which was donated to the proposed Sir Walter Raleigh

monument. It is appropriate to tender the cordial thanks of the North Carolina Daughters of the Revolution to the Asheville Daughters of the American Revolution for assistance and courtesies rendered on the occasion of the reception just mentioned.

Chief among the efforts of the Society, however, is the publication of *The Booklet*, the inception of which was as follows: At a meeting on December 13, 1900, it was decided, as an object peculiarly appropriate to an association of women, that the North Carolina Daughters of the Revolution erect some worthy memorial to the heretofore too much ignored ladies of the Edenton Tea Party of October 25, 1774—those first signers of an American Declaration of Independence, which preceded by nearly two years that of the Vestry of St. Paul's Church in the same town, by seven months that of Mecklenburg, and by a year and eight months the National Declaration at Philadelphia.

To raise a fund for this memorial there was undertaken, under the auspices of the Society, the publication of the above-mentioned magazine, which, under the modest title, *The North Carolina Booklet*, contains articles of great historic value, being, for the most part, from the pens of distinguished writers of the State. Having met with encouraging success for two years, under the able management of its first editors, Miss Martha Helen Haywood and Mrs. Hubert Haywood, with the former of whom—*palmam qui meruit ferat*—the idea of its publication as a means of revenue for the purpose named originated, it has since been in charge of Mrs. E. E. Moffitt and Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, Senior and Junior Editors, whose progressiveness and expenditure of time and labor in conducting the periodical are worthy of the highest praise; their work, like that of their predecessors, being entirely unremunerated, and the proceeds devoted to patriotic purposes. Begun as a small monthly in May, 1901, and having completed its fourth year, it celebrated the beginning of its fifth by emerging into a quarterly of the usual

magazine size, each number containing three articles instead of one as formerly. It has subscribers in thirty States of the Union, exchanges with many colleges and libraries, and "is highly praised by all who are interested in North Carolina history." Prof. D. H. Hill of the State Agricultural and Mechanical College in Raleigh, in his report to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Society, remarks concerning *The Booklet*: "This patriotic work of the Daughters of the Revolution should be widely patronized and should be in the home of every citizen of the State." And Mr. Hugh Morson, Principal of the Raleigh High School, writing to the *News and Observer*, says: "The teachers in this school have planned to use *The North Carolina Booklet* for special work in the history of our State, in connection with the study of American history."

The Booklet has realized the handsome sum of three hundred dollars for the memorial, which, it has been proposed, shall be a bronze tablet of elaborate workmanship, the center occupied by a large tea-pot in bas-relief, on the top of which shall be a design of the Tea Party, and on the body of it—if they can be ascertained—the names of the ladies who signed the "Resolves," the whole encircled with ornamentation representing the distinctively North Carolina products, pinecones and tassels, alternating with tea leaves. This tablet is to be placed in the present Hall of History in the Agricultural Building at Raleigh, instead of in Edenton, as originally intended; Mr. Frank Wood, a public-spirited citizen of that place, having recently marked with a Revolutionary cannon bearing appropriate inscriptions and surmounted with a bronze tea-pot,* the historic spot where the party was held; and the Edenton people having signified their willingness that the tribute from the North Carolina Daughters of the Revolution to these patriotic ladies of the olden time be placed in the State Capital. Unfortunately, the order for the tablet is unavoidably delayed, in the hope that the names

*This tea-pot is modeled from one which was owned by Governor Samuel Johnston.

of the ladies may be authenticated, there being much confusion and discrepancy in the two lists* presented up to the present time. As this is an important matter of history, no conjectures are admissible and the Society can not afford to risk the slightest error.

It is cause for deep regret that these names, with the exception of a few, are matter for research, obscured by the mists of a hundred and thirty-one years, instead of being blazoned high on the roll of fame like those of their successors in action, the signers of the Mecklenburg and National Declarations.

Following is the list of articles comprised in the first five volumes of *The Booklet*, from May, 1901, to April, 1906, inclusive, also the prospectus of Volume VI:

VOLUME I.

1. Virginia Dare—MAJ. GRAHAM DAVES.
2. Colonial New Bern—MRS. SARAH BEAUMONT KENNEDY.
3. The Stamp Act on the Cape Fear—COL. A. M. WADDELL.
4. The Historic Tea Party of Edenton, of October 25, 1774—DR. RICHARD DILLARD.
5. The Legend of Betsy Dowdy—COL. R. B. CREECY.
6. The Hornet's Nest—HON. HERIOT CLARKSON.
7. Greene's Retreat—PROF. D. H. HILL.
8. Monsieur le Marquis de LaFayette—MAJ. E. J. HALE.
9. A North Carolina Naval Hero and His Daughter—DR. K. P. BATTLE.
10. Tales of the Cape Fear Blockade—HON. JAMES SPRUNT.
11. The Charge at Gettysburg—CAPT. S. A. ASHE.
12. The Conditions that Led to the Ku-Klux Klans—MRS. T. J. JARVIS.

VOLUME II.

1. Conditions that Led to the Ku-Klux Klans—MRS. T. J. JARVIS.
2. Our Own Pirates—CAPT. S. A. ASHE.
3. Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War, 1711-'13—JUDGE WALTER CLARK.
4. Moravian Settlement in North Carolina—REV. J. H. CLEWELL.

*The first list was collected and compiled by Mr. Orren Smith of Henderson, by diligent inquiry among the old inhabitants and laborious examination of tombstones and other records in Edenton and vicinity, and was afterwards obtained and first published by Mr. J. B. Hunter in the *Durham Recorder* of August 29, 1901; the second was transcribed by Mr. R. T. H. Halsey of New York, from a London newspaper, *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, of January 16, 1775, into which it purports to have been copied from a letter from North Carolina, dated October 27, 1774, two days after the occurrence of the "Party." Some names are common to both lists, but neither is satisfactory.

5. Whigs and Tories—PROF. W. C. ALLEN.
6. The Revolutionary Congresses of North Carolina—T. M. PITMAN.
7. Raleigh and the Old Town of Bloomsbury—K. P. BATTLE, LL.D.
8. Historic Homes in North Carolina :
 Bath—MISS LIDA TUNSTALL RODMAN.
 Buncombe Hall—MR. THOMAS BLOUNT.
 Hayes—DR. RICHARD DILLARD.
9. (Jan., 1903) Historic Homes :
 The Groves—The Home of Willie Jones—COLONEL BURGWYN.
 Historic Homes in the Cape Fear Country—COL. A. M. WADDELL.
 Wakefield—MISS MARTHA HELEN HAYWOOD.
10. The County of Clarendon—JOHN S. BASSETT.
11. The Signal and Secret Service of the Confederate States—DR. CHARLES E. TAYLOR.
12. The Last Days of the War—HENRY T. BAHNSON.

VOLUME III.

1. Trial of James Glasgow, and the Supreme Court of North Carolina—KEMP P. BATTLE, LL.D.
2. North Carolina Cherokee Indians—WILLIAM W. STRINGFIELD, Lieutenant-Colonel 69th N. C. Troops.
3. The Volunteer State (Tennessee) as a Seceder—MISS SUSIE GENTRY.
4. Historic Hillsboro—FRANCIS NASH.
5. Social Life in Colonial North Carolina—PROF. CHARLES LEE RAPER.
6. Historic Homes of North Carolina—Part III :
 Fort Defiance—MRS. RUFUS THEODORE LENOIR, SR.
 Panther Creek—MRS. HAYNE DAVIS.
 Clay Hill on the Neuse—MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON.
7. (Nov.) Was Alamance the First Battle of the Revolution?—MRS. L. A. McCORKLE.
8. Governor Charles Eden—MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD.
9. The Colony of Transylvania—HON. WALTER CLARK, C. J.
10. Social Conditions in Colonial North Carolina—ALEX. Q. HOLADAY, LL.D.
11. Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge—PROF. M. C. S. NOBLE.
12. The North Carolina and Georgia Boundary—DANIEL R. GOODLOE.

VOLUME IV.

1. The Lords Proprietors of Carolina—KEMP P. BATTLE, LL.D.
2. The Battle of Ramsaur's Mill—MAJ. WILLIAM A. GRAHAM.
3. Historic Homes in North Carolina—Quaker Meadows—JUDGE A. C. AVERY.

4. The Convention of 1788-'89 and the Federal Constitution—HILLSBOROUGH and FAYETTEVILLE—JUDGE HENRY GROVES CONNOR.
5. North Carolina Signers of the National Declaration of Independence: John Penn, Joseph Hewes—MR. T. M. PITTMAN, DR. WALTER SIKES.
6. North Carolina in South America. North Carolina in War. Her Troops and Generals—CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK.
7. The First English Settlement in America—A Study in Location—W. J. PEELE.
8. Rutherford's Expedition Against the Indians, 1776—CAPT. S. A. ASHE.
9. Some Changes in the North Carolina Coast Since 1585—PROF. COLLIER COBB.
10. The Highland Scotch Settlement in North Carolina—JUDGE JAMES C. MACRAE.
11. The Scotch-Irish of North Carolina—REV. A. J. MCKELWAY.
12. Sketch of the Battle of Guilford Court-House—MAJ. JOSEPH M. MOREHEAD.
13. The German Palatines in North Carolina—JUDGE OLIVER H. ALLEN.

VOLUME V.

1. Genesis of Wake County—MR. MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD.
2. St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C., and its Associations—RICHARD DILLARD, M. D.
3. North Carolina Signers of the National Declaration of Independence: Part II. William Hooper—MRS. SPIER WHITAKER.
4. History of the Capitol—COL. CHARLES EARL JOHNSON.
5. Some Notes on Colonial North Carolina, 1700-1750—HON. J. BRYAN GRIMES.
6. North Carolina's Poets—REV. HIGHT C. MOORE.
7. Cornelius Harnett: The Pride of the Cape Fear—MR. R. D. W. CONNOR.
8. Edward Moseley: Character Sketch—PROF. D. H. HILL.
9. Celebration of the Anniversary of May 20, 1775—MAJ. W. A. GRAHAM.
10. Governor Thomas Pollok—MRS. JOHN W. HINSDALE.
11. Battle of Cowan's Ford—MAJ. WILLIAM A. GRAHAM.
12. First Settlers in North Carolina Not Religious Refugees—RT. REV. JOSEPH B. CHESHIRE, D. D.

The Booklet will be issued quarterly by the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution, beginning May, 1905.

VOLUME VI.

(Subject to variation).

1. History Involved in the Names of Counties and Towns in North Carolina—KEMP P. BATTLE, LL.D.
2. A Colonial Admiral of the Cape Fear (Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland)—HON. JAMES SPRUNT.
3. The Indian Tribes of Eastern North Carolina—RICHARD DILLARD, M. D.
4. Thomas Burke—MR. J. G. DE ROULHIAC HAMILTON.
5. Some North Carolina Histories and Their Authors—PROF. EDWARD P. MOSES.
6. The Borough Towns of North Carolina—MR. FRANCIS NASH.
7. The John White Pictures—MR. W. J. PEELE.
8. Governor Jesse Franklin—PROF. J. T. ALDERMAN.
9. Industrial Life in Early North Carolina—MR. T. M. PITTMAN.
10. Colonial and Revolutionary Costumes in North Carolina—MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON.
11. North Carolina's Attitude to the Revolution—ROBERT STRONG, Esq.
12. The Fundamental Constitutions and the Effects on the Colony.

The Booklet will contain short biographical sketches of the writers who have contributed to this publication, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

The Booklet will print abstracts of wills prior to 1760, as sources of biography, history, and genealogy.

The Booklet will be issued quarterly by the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution, beginning July, 1906. Each *Booklet* will contain three articles and will be published in July, October, January, and April. Price, \$1.00 per year, 30 cents for single copy.

Parties who wish to renew their subscription to *The Booklet* for Vol. VI are requested to notify at once.

Address Editors of

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET,
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OF THE REVOLUTION, 1906.

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THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY).

MRS. CHARLES VAN NOPPEN.

The Daughters of the American Revolution have been organized for State work in North Carolina since 1901, at which time Mary Love Stringfield of Waynesville, N. C., now Mrs. John Carsten Wulbern of Charleston, S. C., was appointed State Regent. As she remained State Regent for North Carolina for four years, all that this report represents of organized patriotic effort must be accredited to her superior talent as a presiding officer and to her indefatigable and enthusiastic patriotism.

There are now nine different chapters in as many different towns in this State. All have monthly meetings, generally upon some historic date in which the chapter is greatly interested, as, for instance, the Guilford Battle Chapter meets upon the 15th of each month to commemorate the Battle of Guilford Court-House.

These meetings always take for their program some historical incident or event for discussion or consideration. Sometimes valuable old letters which have been preserved by the families of the daughters are resurrected and read to assist in throwing light upon the period under discussion. Sometimes old land-grants, old money, early songs, etc., are brought to light to interest and entertain the members.

The Elizabeth Maxwell Steele Chapter of Salisbury has placed a marker in the form of a bronze tablet upon the wall of the home of Elizabeth Maxwell Steele to tell of her noble self-denial in giving her supply of gold to Gen. Nathanael Greene at a time when he declared himself as hungry, penniless, and alone.

The Dorcas Bell Love Chapter of Waynesville has placed on the front wall of their county court-house a bronze tablet in memory of Col. Robert Love, which bears this inscription:

1760	1845
IN MEMORY OF	
COL. ROBERT LOVE,	
FOUNDER OF WAYNESVILLE,	
SOLDIER, STATESMAN, BENEFACTOR.	
ERECTED BY THE	
DORCAS BELL LOVE CHAPTER, D. A. R.,	
AUGUST 23, 1904.	

Governor Aycock and other beloved North Carolinians participated in the unveiling of this tablet.

Asheville has a Chapter named for Col. Edward Buncombe, to whose memory they hope to erect a monument on Park Square, Asheville, near the Vance monument. Efforts have been made by this chapter to locate, in the old grave-yard at Germantown, Pa., the grave of Col. Edward Buncombe, who fell during the Battle of Germantown, but so far have been unsuccessful. Markers have been placed upon several graves of Revolutionary soldiers which have been located in Buncombe County.

The Morganton Chapter deserves the name of "Council Oak," since they bought the old oak tree under which Sevier, Campbell, the two McDowells, and others took council before going with the mountaineers from the counties of Burke and Iredell to the Battle of Kings Mountain. The old tree had been so badly shattered by lightning that they decided to make a table from the largest part and inlay it with wood from different historic sites in North Carolina and present it to the Daughters of the American Revolution Memorial Hall in Washington City. A number of gavels and frames have been made from this wood. Some of the Chapters have taken advantage of this in framing their charters. They hope some

time to erect a monument at "Quaker Meadows," the McDowell home, where the old "Council Oak" stood.

Mecklenburg Chapter, our oldest and largest, was described by the *Charlotte Observer* once when it said: "The Mecklenburg Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution is doing much to commemorate the heroic deeds of Mecklenburg heroes," and a decided accent might be laid upon the "*much*." They have given a portrait of George Washington to each of the Charlotte educational institutions. They have offered two prizes in the public schools for the best essays on patriotic and historical subjects. Fearful lest they had not done enough to foster the love of our State and its history in its school children, they decided to encourage the feature of patriotic achievement by presenting to the white graded schools of Charlotte a number of trees that have been obtained from various battlefields of North Carolina. The Regent in presenting them said: "Some of these trees have come from fields of victory, others from those of seeming defeat, but all tell of the patriotism and valor of the North Carolinians." Professor Claxton presented the trees from the Revolutionary battlefields, which were represented as follows: One from Alamance, two from Moore's Creek, six from Kings Mountain, one from Ramsaur's Mill, one from Elizabethtown and one from Locke's Hollow, a field near Charlotte, where Lieut. George Locke was killed September, 1780; two from Guilford Court-House, and a water-oak from Bath, supposed to be the oldest town in the State, and later its capital. The Daughters of the American Revolution intend to add trees from the Confederate battlefields in the State from time to time. Professor Claxton hoped that these trees "may help to hold in remembrance the heroic deeds of our North Carolina forefathers."

The McIntyre skirmish, where four hundred foraging British soldiers were routed by twelve Americans, has been marked by a handsome monument about eight feet wide, four

feet thick and ten feet high, of native granite from a nearby quarry. This encases a marble slab with the inscription:

IN COMMEMORATION
OF THE
MCINTYRE SKIRMISH
OCTOBER 3, 1780.
ERECTED BY THE
MECKLENBURG CHAPTER,
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The monument stands on the exact spot where the skirmish began, but a short distance from the McIntyre house, which is still standing, with its ten-foot-wide fire-place, where doubtless many a tender deer has been roasted to the proper brown. The logs of the house are perforated with hundreds of bullet-holes which eloquently speak of the angry British on the outside and the safety of the Americans ambushed within.

This Chapter has placed another handsome monument near Pineville to mark the birthplace of James Knox Polk, the eleventh President of the United States. Although the site was donated and the rock was given by the county, as well as the marble slab, yet the Mecklenburg Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, paid out nearly \$100 for its construction. It is in the shape of a pyramid, and is about seventeen feet high. As it is on a natural elevation it presents an imposing appearance. Andrew Jackson's birthplace will be similarly marked by this Chapter at an early date.

The Mooresville Chapter is an infant as yet, but commemorates the fame of our romantic Revolutionary heroine by being named the Mary Slocumb Chapter.

The Guilford Battle Chapter acts as an auxiliary to the Guilford Battle-Ground Company, presiding over their annual dinners and picnics on the Fourth of July and making themselves useful as well as ornamental. Souvenir postal cards, presenting views of the monuments on the Guilford

Battle-Ground, have been gotten out by this chapter. These cards also contain a picture of the old Quaker Meeting-House, where the greater part of Cornwallis's six hundred wounded were left to the tender care of old Dr. David Caldwell and the Quakers.

This Chapter has presented a *facsimile* copy of the Declaration of Independence, neatly framed in oak, to the Greensboro City Library, also several books of colonial interest. A little hedge plant was given Miss Stringfield by Mrs. Mary Lockwood, one of the founders of the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution. This little plant was one of thirteen which had grown from seed Mrs. Lockwood planted in a box of soil which had been secured from the foundation of the \$300,000 memorial hall the Daughters of the American Revolution are erecting in Washington City. This little plant was given with the request that it be planted on some historical site to grow into a useful hedge, as an emblem of the object of the Daughters of the American Revolution work in preserving and protecting historical places. Miss Stringfield then gave it into the hands of the Guilford Battle Chapter, to be planted at the Guilford Battle-Ground, which request was faithfully carried out, it being planted on the northeast corner of the Schenck Square, hoping that in time the hedge may inclose the entire square where stands the monument to him who did so much for North Carolina's history, the honored Judge David Schenck. The planting of this shrub was attended with all proper ceremony. The President of the Battle-Ground Company, Major Morehead, the Regent of the Winston-Salem Chapter, the officers of the Guilford Battle Chapter and our Vice-President-General, Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, each placed a handful of dirt around the little shrub.

The biggest work of the North Carolina Daughters of the American Revolution—one which has the advantage of monuments and markers, in that it can go to the people, whether they come or not—is the history of the five Revolutionary

battles fought on North Carolina's soil, now being written by Mr. R. D. W. Connor. We expect great results from this volume, in its educational influence upon its readers, both in this State and others.

At the convention of the North Carolina Daughters of the American Revolution held in Asheville last May, resolutions of thanks were sent General Horace Porter for recovering and restoring to America the remains of her great naval hero, John Paul Jones. As he adopted the name of Jones because of his love for Willie Jones of Halifax, N. C., and it was through the influence of Willie Jones, Allen Jones, and Joseph Hewes of the Continental Congress, all of North Carolina, that he received his commission to the infant navy of the United States, therefore we feel that North Carolina, more than any other State, is indebted to General Porter for his patriotic deed.

We are to be congratulated upon securing for our new Regent such a noble woman as Mrs. Phifer Erwin of Morganton, N. C., but in spite of our good officers our State work will be handicapped for the next year on account of the pledge to erect one of the thirteen marble columns in front of the memorial hall in Washington, this column to cost \$2,000.

I think I have given a general report of the effort of our Society in North Carolina, but any one who wishes to examine more closely into our work can do so by reading the minutes of the Daughters of the American Revolution, which can be found in booklet form in most of the leading libraries in the State.

ORDER OF THE CINCINNATI

(NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY).

MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD.

The present officers of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati are as follows: Hon. Wilson Gray Lamb of Williamston, N. C., President; John Collins Daves of Baltimore, Md., Vice-President; Brig.-Gen. Charles Lukens Davis of the United States Army, Secretary; Marshall DeLancey Haywood of Raleigh, N. C., Assistant Secretary; Walter DeLyle Carstarphen of Plymouth, N. C., Treasurer; Col. Benahan Cameron of Raleigh, N. C., Assistant Treasurer, and the Right Rev. Joseph Blount Cheshire, D. D., of Raleigh, N. C., Chaplain. Mr. John Collins Daves is a member of the Standing Executive Committee of the General Society.

The Order of the Cincinnati, as is well known, is the oldest hereditary society in America, having been organized by veteran commissioned officers of the Continental Line (regulars, not militia officers) at the close of the Revolutionary War, in the spring of 1783. The North Carolina branch of the Order was organized at Hillsborough, N. C., in the fall of the same year.

In the publications of the Southern History Association, of Washington, D. C., for January, 1898, Vol. II, No. 1, appeared the following, written by General Davis, Secretary of the North Carolina Society:

"The Society of the Cincinnati had its birth in May, 1783, in the cantonment of the American Army about Newburg, on the Hudson, at a time when the weak government of the thirteen original States, under the Articles of Confederation, was emerging from the Revolution to the founding of a new government. Its origin is attributed to General Henry Knox, but he was largely assisted in its formation by General, the Baron de Steuben. Its object was to perpetuate the

remembrance of the mighty struggle through which an independence had been secured, as well as to cement the ties of friendship formed during the war, which they desired to perpetuate in their eldest born male descendants, and this was intended to induce substantial acts of beneficence towards those who, unfortunately, might need it. For this purpose a permanent inalienable fund was created, in each of the thirteen State Societies, through the contribution of a month's pay by each member. General Washington's was the first signature to the 'Institution' (Constitution). He accepted the presidency of the General Society and dignified it during the remainder of his life.

"The insignia of the Society, a bald eagle, was the conception of Maj. P. C. L'Enfant of the Corps of Engineers, and all certificates of membership, on parchment, bore the signature of G. Washington, President, and H. Knox, Secretary.

"The thirteen State Societies were all formed by the close of the year 1783, but no sooner was the Society established than it became an object of fierce attack by Legislatures, the Congress, and orators and writers throughout the country, the most notable being pamphlets by Judge Ædanus Burk of South Carolina and Count de Mirabeau of France, pronouncing it an effort to establish an hereditary nobility dangerous to the young Republic. A few of its opponents, however, upon becoming familiar with its objects, were glad to accept honorary membership, and in the course of a few years all hostility disappeared.

* * * * *

"The North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati had but a short existence, and no trace of its records or funds can be found. It was organized in Hillsborough, North Carolina, in the latter part of October, 1783, with General Jethro Sumner as President, and Chaplain Adam Boyd as Secretary, with sixty-one members, being nearly half of those who were eligible under the 'Institution.' Its delegates to the General Meeting of the Society at Philadelphia in 1784 were Lieut.-Col. Archibald Lytle, Maj. Reading Blount, and Maj. Griffith John McRee. It is known to have had annual meetings at Fayetteville, North Carolina, on July 4, 1784 and 1785, and at Halifax, North Carolina, July 4, 1786, the latter being the last known assemblage of the Society, but it was represented by one or more delegates in the Triennial Meetings of the General Society of 1787 and 1790. At the meeting of the Society in 1785, it elected for President Lieut.-Col. John Baptista Ashe; for Secretary, Brevet-Maj. Howell Tatum, and for Treasurer, Brevet-Maj. Robert Fenner. So far as now known, there is no record of this Society until, on April 4, 1896, at Raleigh, North Carolina, ten qualified descendants of original members revived and reorganized it, and it is now in a flourishing condition. At the meeting of the General Society in Philadelphia, on May 13, 1896, it was, with the Delaware Society, provisionally recognized, and anticipates full fellowship at the next Triennial Meeting in 1899."

Since the above account was written by General Davis, the reorganized North Carolina Society has been fully and unconditionally recognized by the General Society. Several other State Societies, which had been dormant, were recognized at the same time, and the Society is now in active operation in all of the original thirteen colonies.

THE SONS OF THE REVOLUTION

(NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY).

MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD.

The present officers of the North Carolina Society of the Sons of the Revolution are as follows: Hon. Thomas S. Kenan of Raleigh, N. C., President; Hon. Fabius H. Busbee of Raleigh, Vice-President; Marshall DeLancey Haywood of Raleigh, Secretary; Bosworth C. Beckwith of Raleigh, Assistant Secretary; Prof. Daniel Harvey Hill of West Raleigh, Registrar; Herbert W. Jackson of Raleigh, Treasurer, and the Rev. Robert Brent Drane, D. D., of Edenton, N. C., Chaplain. The Board of Managers consists of the above officers, *ex officio*, together with the following gentlemen in addition: Messrs. S. A. Ashe (chairman), George B. Curtis, Julian S. Carr, Collier Cobb, A. B. Andrews, Jr., Carle A. Woodruff (United States Army), William E. Stone, Charles E. Johnson, and J. Bryan Grimes.

The Society of Sons of the Revolution was first organized in New York in 1876, and now has societies in nearly all of the States of the Union. The President of the General Society is ex-Gov. John Lee Carroll of Maryland, who holds his right to membership through descent from Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The North Carolina Society was organized at Raleigh in the fall of 1893, with Gov. Elias Carr as President. In 1897 Governor Carr was succeeded by Dr. P. E. Hines, and the present incumbent, Colonel Kenan, was elected in 1904. The Society has had on its rolls, in the person of the late Alfred Moring of Raleigh, a member whose own father fought in the Revolution. Membership in the Society is limited to lineal descendants of men who were in the military, naval, or civil service of some of the thirteen

colonies from 1775 to 1783, provided said ancestor always remained loyal to the American cause, and bore an honorable record in the war. The objects of the Society are social, literary, and patriotic. Among the work done by the North Carolina Society has been the presentation of handsome oil portraits, to the State Supreme Court, of Alfred Moore and James Iredell, who were well-known Revolutionary patriots, and Justices of the United States Supreme Court after the war. When these portraits were presented, an address on the lives of Judges Moore and Iredell was delivered by Junius Davis, Esq., of the Wilmington bar, who is a member of the Society. This address was afterwards printed in pamphlet form by the Society.

THE UNITED CONFEDERATE VETERANS

(NORTH CAROLINA DIVISION).

H. A. LONDON.

The objects of the North Carolina Division of the United Confederate Veterans are to perpetuate truly and correctly the history and exploits of Confederate soldiers, especially North Carolinians, and to this end to use their influence in favor of proper school histories relating to the War Between the States, to discourage the use of those that are improper, and to instruct the rising generation that Confederate soldiers were not rebels or traitors.

North Carolina's Confederate history is one of the proudest heritages that can be handed down through the ages, and should be perpetuated to the remotest generations. Special committees on history are appointed, whose duty and pleasure it is to correct erroneous statements or publications whenever and wherever made.

The following are the present officers of the Division: Major-General Julian S. Carr, Durham, N. C., Commander of the North Carolina Division; H. A. London, Pittsboro, N. C., Adjutant-General and Chief of Staff; Brigadier-General P. C. Carlton, Statesville, N. C., Commander of First Brigade; Brigadier-General W. L. London, Pittsboro, Commander of Second Brigade; Brigadier-General James I. Metts, Wilmington, N. C., Commander of Third Brigade; Brigadier-General James M. Ray, Asheville, N. C., Commander of Fourth Brigade.

THE UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY

(NORTH CAROLINA DIVISION).

MISS REBECCA CAMERON.

The North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy have an opportunity to render the State signal service by preserving records of the late war. The fundamental object of the organization as set forth in its Constitution is the collection and preservation of the materials for a truthful history of the War Between the States. But little of this work has been accomplished so far. The Historian of the Society sent out last September to all the Chapters then organized a circular-letter of which the following is a part:

"The history of a State, or of a Cause, is but the crystallization of the histories of individual men and actions; and so I am asking you, each one—and there are forty-eight of you—to do your best as faithful officers to secure the histories of all the local heroes in your vicinity, and have them written by the veteran himself, or by some one from his dictation. This would be good work for the children's branches. A copy of these historical papers should be kept in your Chapter archives, and another one, written on paper 8x10 in size, and on one side of the paper only, should be sent to the State Historian, United Daughters of the Confederacy, to be filed in the Museum in Raleigh until such time as the State shall have them bound into volumes. South Carolina already has six such volumes, while North Carolina, who gave more men to the Cause than any of the other States, and lost more, has *none*! Shall we let this continue to be true? These records will be priceless in the years to come, both as teaching the truth and as storehouses of inspiration for the future historians and writers of the State. Each year sees the irretrievable loss of much precious material. The men die with their story, or that of some gallant comrade, unrecorded; and thus it is forever lost, and the loss is not only ours, but that also of future ages.

"Much, however, can still be saved, if we will, each one, take the trouble; for it will take trouble and patience, too, to hunt up the

names of the men who a little excelled their fellows, and get their stories told in black and white.

"Every neighborhood has its hero: its special story of splendid daring, endurance, or achievement to be put on record, if we will.

"Another subject of great historical value is the sufferings and labors of the women, during and after the war. The grandmothers, mothers, and aunts in every community can best tell these. An appointment made to talk with them, and kept, with writing-pad and pencil in hand, will make their stories imperishably ours.

"Another is the ingenious devices and clever makeshifts to supply needful things during the years of blockade and non-production.

"Another, the ills and atrocities of Reconstruction.

"Another, the records of Soldiers' Aid Societies, Wayside Hospitals, and Memorial Associations.

"And, lastly, sketches of every-day life in the Confederacy—its lights and shadows, fun, work, jokes, songs, costumes, and bills of fare.

"This will be of great value and interest. Tell how we laughed and danced, rode and sung with the men home on furlough or stationed near us, and bore ourselves with a gay, high courage, though often we were starving at home even as they were starving at the front.

"Much of our history is wholly lost. Now, let us begin to preserve it for those who will come after, as well as for the sake of the men—God bless them!—who made these later pages the most glorious of all."

In my report to the convention I urged the appointment of an Historical and Text-book Committee. This committee was appointed, and its members are Mrs. Helen DeB. Wills of Chapel Hill, chairman; Mrs. James McRae, Chapel Hill; Mrs. James E. Ray, Asheville; Mrs. William M. Parsley, Wilmington; Mrs. F. J. Murdock of Salisbury; Mrs. Reinhardt and Miss Kate Shipp of Raleigh, and Miss Mary Pruden of Edenton.

Mrs. Wills, as chairman of the committee, issued an excellent circular-letter to all the Chapters which it is hoped will arouse them to active work, both in the study and the writing of history, and especially in the inspection of text-books used in public and private schools, so that no false or pernicious teaching may be done.

Some few of the Chapters have reported themselves as undertaking the study of the history of the war, and two have

sent in historical papers for preservation in the museum. These two deserve honorable mention and are the Gen. George Burgwyn Anderson Chapter of Hillsboro and the Guilford Chapter of Greensboro.

It is to be hoped that ere long all of the forty-nine Chapters which now constitute the North Carolina division will keep step with the two who are now rather the volunteers of a forlorn hope than laborers in a common cause. It is easier to say what should be done than to secure its accomplishment, and, so far, the Historian's office seems to be a Cassandra-like sinecure, *i. e.*, a setting forth of unwelcome speech to unheeding ears.

THE GENESIS OF WAKE FOREST COLLEGE.

E. W. SIKES.

In 1813, when the Baptist Triennial Convention of the United States was organized, there was just one institution in the United States under Baptist control, and that was Brown University, Rhode Island. Judson and Rice went to Burmah as missionaries and there became Baptists. Rice returned to America to secure support for Judson, from the Baptists. Rice gave a great impulse to missionary labors and to education also, and out of this desire came the Triennial Convention, the national organization of American Baptists. Its first president was Dr. Richard Furman of South Carolina. In his address he emphasized the need of educational institutions. Rice did likewise. Rice realized that the missionary needed education. Especially did Rice see the need of an institution centrally located. He fully endorsed the views of Washington, that the most suitable place for such an institution was Washington City. In 1822 Columbian College was begun. Ten years from the formation of this Convention ten institutions had been founded, but not one of them south of Washington. Within the next ten years other colleges came into existence—Richmond, Mercer, Furman, and Wake Forest.

RICE, THE FLAMING EVANGELIST.

Undoubtedly, it was through Luther Rice that light broke out in these places. He was the financial agent of this Convention and Columbian College, in Washington. He traveled throughout the Southern States and had many friends in North Carolina. For years he attended meetings, associations, and conferences in this State, and in 1835 died in

South Carolina. He was delighted when he heard that Wake Forest had begun, and wrote to a Northern paper: "They have kindled a light in the Wake Forest Institute that will soon shed its rays over the whole State." For twenty-five years Rice was the flaming evangel of education and missions. However, the immediate impulse that led to the founding of Baptist schools in the South came through the State Conventions. These State Conventions were engaged in educating young ministers before the colleges were founded. The young ministers they were forced to send to schools not under their control. Out of this need for a place to educate young ministers came Richmond. The men who led in these movements were ministers, and Furman and Mercer are both named after ministers. Yet an intelligent editor once declared that the ministry of the South had herded the people beside stagnant pools of theology. He was unmindful of the fact that a line of colleges from Washington to the Rio Grande stood as a monument to their educational labors.

But Wake Forest was never a theological school. Before the first session opened it was determined to make it a general school. During the first term, when the enrollment reached 40, there were only four men preparing to preach.

SOUTHERN EDUCATION IN 1834.

When Wake Forest started there was no public school system in North Carolina, no Trinity, no Davidson. Men like Murphey had tried to start a system, but it had failed. There were many academies chartered every year by the Legislature. Nearly twenty were chartered at the same time as was Wake Forest. Murphey's plan had no place in it for Christian schools, but no denomination had yet undertaken to support an institution. The classes at the University were small—only thirteen graduates. No educational renaissance had yet come to North Carolina.

In February, 1834, the first session began at Wake Forest, but for twenty-five years there had been a party among the

Baptist people that advocated the improvement of the ministry. One of the aims of the meeting of correspondence founded in 1810 was the education of the ministry. For this very reason it met with opposition. The Benevolent Society of 1829 had this purpose in view, and made collections for education. At its annual meeting in 1830 the fund amounted to \$35. In this same year the Benevolent Society became the Baptist State Convention, whose constitution declares that one of its aims is the "education of young men called of God and approved by the churches." In the circular-letter sent throughout the State and written by Thomas Meredith, an urgent plea is made for a stronger ministry. Mercer declared that our strong young men were drawn to other States, and that Baptists in other States were more prosperous. Meredith made a strong plea that all churches coöperate for this purpose.

FIRST STEPS IN 1831.

When the Convention met in its first annual session in 1831 at Wake Cross Roads, not far from the present village of Wake Forest, a committee on education was appointed. The chairman of the committee was John Armstrong, pastor at New Bern, a native of Pennsylvania and graduate of Columbian College. On the committee with him were N. G. Smith of Chatham and William R. Hinton of Wake. Since the convention then had no school, Armstrong offered to teach the young men. The Convention accepted his offer and authorized the board of managers to defray the expenses of such students as far as they were able with him, or in any school to which they saw fit to send them. The education fund reported at this Convention was \$11,406.2-3. Old Rocky River Church, in Anson, gave the "2-3." During this year the board adopted two beneficiaries, William Jones and Patrick Conely, and placed them in the school of George W. Thompson, who agreed to instruct them gratuitously. Mr. Thompson's school was in Wake County.

At the second annual meeting of the Convention in August, 1832, at Reeves' Chapel, Chatham County, the committee on education consisted of William Hooper of Chapel Hill, William R. Hinton of Wake, and Gray Huckaby of Orange. The report of this committee was the birth of Wake Forest. They proposed a plan to the Convention. The plan was the purchase of a farm suitably located, furnished with commodious buildings, the employment of a teacher to take charge of the beneficiaries and such other pupils as his duties to them would permit, the employment of a superintendent of the farm to direct the labors of the young men so that they might earn their subsistence and pay their board.

THE MANUAL LABOR PLAN.

However, this idea was not born at this Convention. In this Convention there was some one who had already investigated the matter and informed the committee that a farm in Wake County, fifteen miles from Raleigh, could be purchased for \$2,000. This farm was the property of Dr. Calvin Jones. The Convention accepted this proposition unanimously, and declared that it deemed it expedient to establish a "Baptist Literary Institution" on the manual labor principle.

Manual labor schools at this time were popular. Richmond College was working on this principle. The Convention appointed a committee to secure by private subscription enough funds to purchase the plantation. This committee was composed of William Hooper of Chapel Hill, J. G. Hall of Currituck, Gray Huckaby of Orange, William R. Hinton of Raleigh, and A. S. Winn of Wake. This committee was authorized to make the purchase and report the same to the president of the board of managers, that he might call a meeting of the board. But there were men who opposed this idea of a school, and they industriously circulated the report that the design was to suppress the preaching of those not favored with these advantages. The Convention by

resolution declared that this was not its design, and that even if it wished it, it had no power to accomplish it. The education fund at this Convention went up to \$697.70.

FARM PURCHASED.

A month after the close of the Convention the committee on purchase reported to the board that they had purchased the farm of 615 acres, had \$1,525 in pledges, a note of the North Carolina Missionary Society for \$500, and that \$550 of pledges were unpaid, but that the committee had advanced the money, and that Cullen Battle of Georgia had donated \$200.

In November, 1832, John Armstrong outlined the plan of the institute in *The Raleigh Register*. In December, 1832, the board met again, to make an estimate of expenses for the first year, and calculated that to furnish and provision the farm would require \$3,063. The board further decided that it would not be possible to start the school in 1833 for lack of teachers, so they put the farm in care of John Purefoy, William Crenshaw, Foster Fort, and G. W. Thompson. In May, 1833, the board met in Bertie County and elected Samuel Wait principal. Wait had been the general traveling agent of the Convention since its foundation in 1830. He was known in every part of the State, had gone into Burke, Buncombe, and Rutherford and back to the east again.

All these things were reported to the Convention at Dockery's Meeting-house in November, 1833. The Convention endorsed it and appointed a committee to report a board of trustees, which board was to be incorporated by the Legislature. The committee on charter was composed of Stephen Graham of Duplin, Joseph B. Outlaw of Bertie, Alfred Dockery of Richmond, David Thompson of Johnston, and S. S. Biddle of Lenoir.

Forty trustees were appointed. They were chosen from various sections of the State—from Craven to Buncombe, from Chowan to Anson.

Still another committee was appointed, and this one was to prepare a schedule of items necessary for the institute. The committee was composed of Thomas Meredith, Joseph Outlaw, and D. Thompson. They reported that the newly appointed trustees should meet as soon as possible and select an agent, appoint a farmer, furnish the farm, provide buildings and repairs, receive applications of students, appoint a steward, and make regulations for the management of the school. The committee appointed to secure a charter proceeded at once. The Legislature was to meet that month. The principal had been chosen, the farm had been purchased, but no charter had yet been secured.

HARD FIGHT FOR CHARTER.

The bill to grant the charter was introduced December 4th by William H. Battle of Franklin County, afterwards better known as Judge Battle, and teacher of law at Chapel Hill. Though not a Baptist himself, he came from a strong Baptist family. At the same time another bill was introduced to charter the Greensboro Academy and Manual Labor School. The bill passed on its first reading. On December 11th it came up for its second reading. Edmonston of Haywood, who was opposed to the charter, called for the yeas and nays. The result was: 95 yeas, 34 nays. The Greensboro school had about the same vote.

On December 18th the bill came up for its third reading. Benjamin Settle of Rockingham, who was opposed to the charter, moved that the bill be postponed indefinitely, but this was negatived by 90 to 32, and so the charter passed the House of Commons.

In the Senate, when the bill came up for its final passage, there were just 29 votes for it and 29 against it. The Speaker of the Senate was William D. Mosely, a graduate of Chapel Hill, and not a Baptist, but his family was. He cast the deciding vote that gave the institution a chance to live.

The charter was not for a college, not for the right to confer degrees, not to authorize a religious body to hold property, but simply to give a body of trustees the right to hold property and to run a school, with no exemption from taxation.

Other schools were granted charters at the same time without all this opposition. The Episcopal school in Raleigh received its charter. High schools were chartered in different parts of the State, and yet it remained for Wake Forest Institute—the only one that has lived through the years—to secure a meager charter grudgingly given.

SOURCE OF OPPOSITION.

It is difficult to explain this opposition. * * * William Hooper was chairman of the committee that recommended the plan to the Convention. William H. Battle introduced the bill. W. D. Mosely cast the deciding vote. On the board of trustees were Aaron J. Spivey and William Crenshaw. Dr. J. Lee Haywood was one of the first contributors.

There was opposition on the part of the Primitive Baptist folk. It was not their concern, but the great “split” was just beginning. This reactionist party was just starting. Its leader was Joshua Lawrence. In former time he had coöperated with the organized work, but he was convinced that a Convention smacked too much of Roman councils. On the day that the vote was to be taken he placed on the desk of every member an article signed “Clodhopper,” which gave reasons why the Wake Forest charter should not be granted. This paper is lost and the reasoning unknown.

The manual labor idea may not have been popular, for the Greensboro Manual Labor School met with opposition. There was a leading Baptist in South Carolina (Johnston) who thought that manual labor should not be connected with study; that it had a degrading effect on the mind; that if a man worked like a beast his thoughts would be low; but John

Armstrong and Samuel Wait were strong champions of the manual labor feature.

* * * * *

Baptist influence was weak. The policy of the denomination in the charter of Wake Forest was such as to drive from it men whose outlook was broad. The plain truth is that up to 1830 the Baptists in North Carolina had nothing to do, and strong men were going to other States or joining other denominations.

There were no special parties in the State at this time. The old Federalist party had passed away; the split on Andrew Jackson had not come. The great question in State politics was the demand for a convention to reform the Constitution and extend the franchise and give more power to the new west. And yet, for some reason or other, there was division in the Legislature, and certain men generally voted together. The men who voted against Wake Forest generally voted together, with some exceptions.

The Senate was not a body conspicuous for its ability. Among the strong men was William B. Meares of New Hanover, later candidate for United States Senator and for the Governorship. He voted for the charter. Otway Burns, the famous naval commander, represented Carteret for many years. He was opposed to the charter. Weldon N. Edwards, the friend of Nathaniel Macon, and ex-Congressman, represented Warren and opposed the charter. Most of the Senators from the Kelnkee Association voted against the charter.

FIRST SESSION DIFFICULTIES.

When Principal Wait came to look over the purchase and make arrangements for the opening of the school he found simply a country residence standing where the old dormitory now is, and outhouses. He says: "I found seven good, substantial log cabins, made mostly of white-oak, good doors, floors, roof, and, with one exception, windows. (Built for servants). These were washed out cleanly and whitewashed.

Good furniture was provided for each house, and although it was known that the cabins were built originally for servants and occupied at first by them, I never heard of the least objection to them from any student. The only place in which I could convene the students for morning and evening prayers or lectures was the building erected by Dr. Jones for a carriage house, 16x24 feet. A supply of desks and benches was furnished, but the large doors were suffered to remain without alteration."

The dining-room was the chief difficulty during the first session. Numbers increased rapidly and 72 were enrolled the first year. The largest room in the house was 18 feet square. Only one-third of the students could be seated at once. They ate in relays. Nine times a day the table was set, and, like all Gaul, every meal was divided into three parts. This was so laborious that finally a cloth tent 70 feet long was constructed.

Another difficulty was beds. Some brought their beds with them, but the institute had to supply most of them. When feathers gave out they made mattresses of shucks. Professor Wait and his family used to work till midnight making shuck mattresses.

Servants could not be secured, and very often Professor Wait would teach till 12 o'clock and then help to set the table.

The trustees held a meeting in May (1834) and advised the executive committee to have some temporary buildings erected. Some of these the students erected themselves. There was need for a school building. Professor-elect John Armstrong was appointed to collect money for this purpose. He received subscriptions for \$17,000. Captain Berrey agreed to erect the "Old Dormitory" building for \$10,000, and to complete it in two years. When the first payment fell due the trustees were unable to meet it and had to borrow the money, and the debt due Captain Berrey was not paid till 1849.

LONG A FINANCIAL FAILURE.

Financially the school was a failure. Each year saw the debt grow larger and larger. The institute required students to board in the Steward's Hall, which was run by the trustees. In 1834 they put board at \$4.50, room and wood gratis. Provisions began to go up. Board was raised to \$6, but provisions went still higher. This change of board brought criticism, though the institution was getting deeper and deeper into debt each year. It was thought that student-labor would be valuable, but the books show that they made on an average \$4 per year.

At the close of the third session (1836) the treasurer's book shows that the institute was in debt \$3,343.21, and the year 1837 was to be a year of panics. To meet these obligations the trustees state that they "have \$2,477.80 due from students, and that they trust the goodness of Divine Providence to crown with ultimate success their efforts to pay the balance."

Tuition, board, room, and everything was put low at first and the debts were contracted at a time when Andrew Jackson was tampering with the finances of the United States, crops were bad and these debts grew till they amounted to \$20,000 in 1848.

Suffice it to say the Manual Labor Institute was a financial failure, and when the institute became a college in 1838 this feature, with its Steward's Hall, was abolished.

THE FACULTY OF THE INSTITUTE.

With its charter secured and all arrangements made, the institute began the first Monday in February, 1834, with 25 students.

Samuel Wait was principal of the institute. Professor Wait had been educated at Columbian College, Washington, D. C., but his degree came from Waterville, Me. This was probably due to the fact that the Columbian was not yet

authorized to confer degrees. Professor Wait was an ideal man for the position at that time. He was a harmonizer and a leader in a peculiar way. The new institute needed funds. Wait's strong point was his ability to harmonize conflicts. He was not a great pulpit orator, not a great organizer, but he was an indefatigable worker. In a house-to-house canvass he was probably without a peer.

He knew how to lead young men. He was a musician, could sing and play the flute, he was fond of exhibitions and drilling. He organized the students into a company for drilling. Among the student-body were some who knew tactics. These formed in the line in front of Professor Wait's house and marched and drilled while he played the flute. After a while the company marched down the road and were proceeding nicely till they observed a languid donkey peacefully grazing by the roadside. Then the company broke for the donkey, placed their captain astride, and with great glee marched back to the school-house. Among the crowd was one little orphan boy, who afterwards said that he had been home-sick all the time and had had many a cry at a big rock near the school, but that after the organization of the company he was home-sick no more. How little Professor Wait thought that of these young boys he was drilling, four, at least, would follow the Stars and Stripes up the stony heights of the City of Mexico.

For the year 1834 Professor Wait did all the teaching. The session closed in November.

The overseer for this year was Charles Merriam, the brother of Mrs. Wait. He remained with the institute as steward of the dining-hall after he gave up the position of farmer. Henry Wall became farmer for the next year, at a salary of \$200. He was followed in 1836 by Jesse Jones, salary \$130.

At the meeting of the board of trustees in May, 1834, John Armstrong, Mr. Wait's successor as pastor in New Bern, was elected to the chair of Ancient Languages, but he was re-

quested to be agent for the remainder of the year, which he did. Armstrong was a native of Pennsylvania, and was a graduate from Columbian College. Undoubtedly, he was deeply interested in education and the Baptist cause in North Carolina. He was already corresponding secretary of the Baptist State Convention, was a preacher of much power, and deeply interested in the education of young ministers. In fact, before the institute was created he proposed to the Convention to instruct young ministers at his home in New Bern.

Armstrong spent the summer and fall of 1834 in visiting the associations and raising money to equip the school, which had no other buildings than those on the plantation. In a few months he received \$17,000 in subscriptions.

Year 1835 found him at the institute to begin his work in Ancient Languages. He spent three years in this department, but felt the need for better preparation. Late in the year of 1837 he determined to visit Europe and carry with him one of his brightest pupils, James C. Dockery. The board permitted him to be absent for two years, provided they did not call him back sooner.

He spent the year 1838 and part of 1839 in France and Italy, and returned to North Carolina, but what was his surprise to find that the chair of Ancient Languages had been filled by another, Daniel Ford Richardson. Immediately upon the departure of Professor Armstrong the executive committee elected John B. White to his place. Just before his return the trustees appointed White to another chair and elected Professor Morse to Armstrong's chair of Ancient Languages. Armstrong had been very popular in the State. Thomas Meredith loved him like a brother. G. W. Hufham thought him the strongest man in the State and went to his grave feeling that Armstrong had been greatly wronged. Tradition has it that he was to have been president of the Wake Forest College, for it was intended at this time to convert the institute into a college, and that he went to Europe

to study educational institutions that he might build more wisely. When Armstrong returned he handed in his resignation, which the board tabled indefinitely.

Soon after this Armstrong moved to Georgia, where he spent a useful life and in the meantime married a rich widow.

At the time that Armstrong was elected Professor of Ancient Languages, Thomas Meredith, editor of the *Biblical Recorder* and a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, an editor unsurpassed in the annals of the State, was elected to the chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. Meredith did not see fit to accept this position, but as editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, he was the outspoken champion of the institution. This failure of Meredith to accept necessitated the election of another man. No professor was chosen, but a very able tutor was secured in the person of Henry Lea Graves of Caswell County, who had just graduated in 1835 from the University of North Carolina. Graves remained only for two and a half years (1836 and 1837), when he went to Hamilton Theological Seminary, New York. Later he went to Texas and became the first president of the Baylor University. The other tutor for 1836 was Alban Hart, who remained only a short time. About Hart little is known. His name is not mentioned in the record of the board of trustees, but there is some reason for believing that he was a scholarly Englishman, who had studied in Paris, Italy, and Spain, and who, after leaving Wake Forest, started a school in Oxford, North Carolina.

The short stay of Hart left a vacancy to be filled. In the State at that time was Horace A. Wilcox, agent of the American Home Missionary Society of Philadelphia. He was a young man and a graduate of Brown University and at least highly regarded by Dr. Moses of South Carolina. He held the position of tutor in 1837, but did not give up his work as agent of the board. Of his after career nothing is known.

The year 1838 saw the greatest changes in the faculty of the institute. This year and the next saw three men enter

the faculty from New England, and two of them from Brown University, Rhode Island.

Daniel Ford Richardson, as has been mentioned, took the place of John Armstrong as professor of Ancient Languages. He was small of stature, and rather testy in temperament. He came from the North by the old stage road that passed through Rolesville to Raleigh. The stage dropped him at Rolesville. There was only one way for him to reach the "Hill," and that was for him to walk, which he did. On this tramp he was accompanied by a new student who was in the same predicament. The term "newish" was then unknown. This new student was our honored and respected townsman, J. M. Brewer.

The other New Englander was John B. White, a graduate of Brown, who had lived in Illinois, where he was Judge. He took the chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He remained with the institution till 1849. When Professor Hooper resigned the presidency he was elected his successor. By marriage he was related to Professor Wait. From the traditions he was a very impractical man, and had no conception of the character of Southern youth. In 1849 he returned to Illinois and became president of a woman's college. During the Civil War he was chaplain of an Illinois regiment.

The only other addition made to the faculty of the institution was Stephen Morse, a Brown University man, who began as adjunct professor of Ancient Languages and principal of Preparatory Department in November, 1838, but was made professor of Ancient Languages in June, 1839.

George W. Thompson was elected tutor in 1838, but there is no evidence that he ever filled the place. Dr. Joseph B. Outlaw was elected professor of Physiology and Anatomy in 1835, but nothing more is known of this chair.

Undoubtedly, this faculty was able. Brown University was a leading institution. Dr. Francis Wayland was president, and at that time, and for fifty years afterwards, was the

greatest educator in America. His famous text-books on Moral Philosophy and Political Economy had not yet been published, but these men had listened to his lectures and at Wake Forest taught from his notes.

It will be observed that Professor Wait surrounded himself with New England teachers. Of the eight men who taught in the institution only one was a North Carolinian. He was a tutor and remained only two and one-half years, and time proved that he was a strong man. At this time Southern schools were full of New England teachers. These men never understood Southern character.

Professor Wait and the men who stood close to him evidently had little confidence in the ability of Southern men to teach. No better man, no purer, sweeter, sincerer character has been connected with the college than Professor Wait, but the question is natural: "Did he and his faculty ever understand the character of the people of North Carolina?" He was never able to get them to pay the debt on the "old building," and so he resigned in 1846, after having made great personal sacrifice. It was the energy of men like Wait and Armstrong that awoke the apathy of the people. They had not only energy, but the spirit of sacrifice. But the people never rallied to their support. Professor Wait labored manfully, but the burden of debt pressed harder every year. Relief came only when native leadership assumed the responsibility.

Again, nearly all these teachers were preachers. This was a necessity. Teaching and preaching were united. Neither preaching nor teaching was profitable in North Carolina. As traveling agent of the Convention Wait received \$1 per day and paid his own expenses. Armstrong, as pastor at New Bern, eked out a support by teaching. Wait's salary as principal was \$600, and then \$700, and later \$1,000. Merriam as tutor of that day received \$200. Armstrong's salary as professor was \$800. Wilcox, \$400 and board for his

family, and \$100 to move him. Graves, \$600 and house. White, \$700 and board. Richardson, \$700 and board.

The most learned man in the State was Prof. William Hooper, professor of Ancient Literature at the University. He took an active part in founding the institute. He was on the board of trustees. The Baptist felt elated when he left the Episcopal Church and joined the Baptist. So anxious were they to place him in their institution that at the close of the first session the chair of Moral Philosophy was created especially for him and he was offered a salary of \$1,000, but he did not accept. However, in 1846, when President Wait resigned he was elected president of the college. He came to the college and found a fearful debt impending. He was not equal to the task and resigned. Later he said that this was the golden opportunity of his life and that he threw it away.

SOME OLD REGULATIONS.

In these days the trustees dominated the faculty and everything connected with the institute. They passed many regulations that seem rather odd to us. Here are some of them:

1. Each student over 16 to be allowed 3 cents an hour for work; each over 12, 2 cents.

2. No students to be admitted who will not board in the institute.

3. The students shall be required to rise in the morning and retire to their rooms at night at such times as the faculty may require.

4. Three hours each day, except Sunday, shall be devoted to manual labor.

5. No student shall make purchases from any shop or store.

6. All money shall be handed over to the principal, and only \$5 per year shall be allowed for pocket money.

7. That no student be allowed to go to the store unless accompanied by some member of the faculty.

8. That a seamstress be employed whose duty it shall be to attend to the washing, mending, and distributing the students' clothes.

9. That the steward purchase 15,000 pounds of pork for the institute next year.

10. That George Ryan, the newly elected steward, be allowed to bring with him, for the use of the institute, two servants and his own wife.

11. That the farmer be authorized to employ three black boys.

12. That six cows be purchased for the institute.

13. That the faculty be required to visit the rooms of the students.

14. The boys asked to be allowed to wear uniforms, but this was refused.

15. They asked to be allowed to form a voluntary military company, but this was refused.

CELEBRATIONS.

As has been stated, Professor Wait was very fond of celebrations. There were two celebrations each year—the 4th of July and the Literary Address at the close of the session in November. There was no commencement, but the final examinations were public. They were advertised in the Raleigh papers for weeks previous.

During the first session, in 1834, General Swain, Judge William Gaston, and Dr. Hooper visited the institute and examined the boys. Judge Gaston asked to see the palms of their hands to see how well they had worked. Judge Gaston, though a devout Catholic, was welcome to a Baptist school. Living at New Bern, he was well acquainted with Wait, Armstrong, and Meredith, who had lived there also. Gaston and Swain were the first men selected by the societies to address them. The others were Meredith and Weston R. Gales of the *Raleigh Register*.

The two societies were not formed till the opening of the second session in 1835.

On February 14th the student-body met by agreement and listened to an address from Professor Armstrong on "The Value of Polemic Societies." At the close of the address James C. Dockery of Richmond and Hiram K. Person of Chatham were appointed to divide the students in respect to numbers and talents and to report to the meeting one week later.

On the 21st they made their report. Then James C. Dockery and his followers retired to another room, where the Philomathesian Society was organized, and Hiram K. Person organized the Euzelian. These names were probably given by Professor Armstrong, professor of Ancient Languages.

The societies held their celebrations on July 4th.

Their first one was held in 1835. James C. Dockery delivered the oration. So good was the effort that the trustees asked for its publication. In 1836 Hiram K. Person, from the Euzelian Society, spoke on "Religious Slavery Incompatible with Civil Liberty." This, too, was printed in pamphlet form.

In 1837 the whole country round was invited. A great throng gathered. A stand was erected in the grove on the north side of the present campus. The audience gathered and waited with expectation the appearance of the two societies. Soon they saw the head of the marching columns appear with banners proudly floating in the breeze. When seated Hiram K. Person read the Declaration of Independence and Josiah Brooks delivered an address entitled "Independence." The oration was considered to reflect great credit on the young man and the institute.

At the close of the address the entire audience was invited to take dinner with the college. No dining-room could hold the crowd, so dinner was served on the grounds under the very oaks that now stand in front of the dormitory.

It was a barbecue, and at least one little girl carried with her lifelong recollections of a hog roasted whole, with a red apple thrust between his jaws.

In the evening the exercises were doubly interesting, for the representatives of the societies were to display their histrionic talent. Professor Armstrong had written a play—an Indian play.

Great torches blazed and illumined the grove. All was expectation. Soon a band of Indians in paint, feathers, and tomahawks appeared and built their great campfire. With them they dragged a beautiful young girl. With savage cries they brandished their tomahawks. Finally, they tied her to a tree and piled the fagots around her and, Indian-like, lay down to sleep. Inconsistent as it may seem, the watchword of the Indians was, "Watchman, what of the night?"

The lone Indian sentinel, hideous in his war-paint and feathers, would walk from one end of his beat to the other and brandish his knife over the head of the doomed maiden. But succor was near. Her faithful lover had followed them through the woods; once the Indian heard a twig break. He jumped behind a tree, listened, and was about to wake his companions. Finally, when he had reached his farthest beat the lover rushed forward, cut the bonds that held the young maiden and rushed away with her. The Indians were aroused, and with terrible cries and war-whoops rushed in pursuit. Her capture seemed inevitable, but just at that moment the gallant Colonel Washington, with his Virginia regiment, appeared on the scene. The lovers were saved and the Indians dispersed. So real was the scene that children after dark feared the Indians would seize them, and behind each tree looked for a lurking savage.

THE INSTITUTE BECOMES A COLLEGE.

The institute struggled on until the Legislature of 1838 granted a new and more liberal charter and transformed the institute into a college. With this change the trustees sus-

pended the manual labor feature, which was never revived. The 615-acre farm was divided into lots and all sold, except what is now the campus and the ball-ground. The first commencement was in June, 1839. The eloquent Henry W. Miller of Raleigh delivered the address. Degrees were conferred on Josiah H. Brooks of Chatham, William T. Brooks of Chatham, Willis W. Childers, Camden, S. C., and William Jones of Wake.

There was trouble with this first senior class. They determined to have a senior vacation and refused to attend their examinations. The matter was referred to the board of trustees, who ordered them to stand their examinations. However, the trustees requested the faculty in the future to give them their examinations four weeks before the end of the session, and that the executive committee be present.

NORTH CAROLINA BIBLIOGRAPHY.

FOR THE YEAR 1902.*

D. H. HILL.

Coincident with the great educational revival now blessing North Carolina, there has come throughout the State a quiet, apparently self-born, but nevertheless wide-spread rebirth of literature. An epoch of book-making has fairly set in. Happily, too, these books for the most part are not publications of poor stuff by hasty compilers endowed only with Trollopean beeswax. They are the outcome of scholarly, well-equipped, conscience-mindful men and women whose work has grown under their hands because their lives are full and their brains aglow with vital thought.

It falls to my lot to-night to present so far as I have been able to collect a brief synopsis of what for the past year these writers have done in one department, the department of history and its twin sister, biography. As this is the first annual report made to this Society, I shall overstep the year line a trifle and include some books that were published in 1901. I shall also include some books that were finished so far as writing goes in 1902, but that are yet in press or awaiting a publisher. I shall mention first the books, then pamphlets.

Foremost in volume of historical work is the first president of this Society, Chief Justice Walter Clark. Taking up the wearisome task of editing and publishing the Colonial Records as this love-labor fell from the dying hands of Colonel Saunders, Judge Clark published last year the tenth volume of this series—this being the twentieth volume of the set. Two more volumes and an index will complete the set. It

*Read at the third annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association.

is needless to say to this body that these massive books are invaluable repositories of material for historical students.

In addition, Judge Clark, with infinite patience and labor, completed the editing, revising, and publishing of the five volumes of Confederate Regimental Histories provided for by State appropriation. These volumes, neatly printed by E. M. Uzzell of Raleigh, constitute the noblest memorial yet reared to the endurance and dauntless heroism of the soldiers of our State.

One of the vice-presidents of this Society, Dr. John Spencer Bassett of Trinity College, edited a sumptuous edition of the "Writings of Col. William Byrd, Esq., of Virginia." This exceedingly handsome volume is from the presses of Doubleday, Page & Co. To scholarly editing Dr. Bassett adds an eighty-page biography of Colonel Byrd. Dr. Bassett has also contributed several historical articles to the pages of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, an ably managed journal that he has found time during the past year to establish and manage.

President J. H. Clewell of Salem Female Academy has contributed a valuable book, "The History of Wachovia in North Carolina." This four-hundred-page illustrated book is also from the presses of Doubleday, Page & Co. "The volume is based upon researches made in the original manuscripts of the Salem archives and represents a work of translation and study covering five or six years. The book contains the history of this Colony during the French and Indian wars; the struggle between the Regulators and Governor Tryon; the stirring times of the Revolution, with all of which Wachovia was associated." The founding of the town and the academy is also described.

Joseph Alexander Tillinghast published under the auspices of the American Economic Association an exhaustive study of the Negro Race in America. The volume, published by the Macmillans, contains two hundred and thirty-one pages and a three-page bibliography. The book, which is written

with laborious painstaking, begins with the negro in Africa, describes his social and political life there, and then follows the African to this country and outlines his life here.

Mr. Cicero W. Harris, now living in Washington, D. C., issued during the past year, through the Lippincotts, the first volume of his "Sectional Struggle." This is a handsomely printed book of three hundred and forty-three pages and is the result of many years of study. After the introductory chapter the author devotes one hundred and forty-five pages to tariff issues; eighty-three pages to the debates of 1830; and one hundred and thirty to Nullification and the Compromise of 1833.

Rev. John W. Stagg, D. D., of Charlotte, has just sent out from the presses of the Presbyterian Publication Committee a historic and polemic study of the teaching of Calvin, Twisse, and Edwards. This book, which is the result of research and clear thinking, contains one hundred and sixty-three pages.

Dr. R. B. Creecy of Elizabeth City published for young folk, and for old folk with young hearts, his "Tales of a Grandfather." These Tarheel stories and incidents that are, I trust, safely lodged in the libraries of every member of this Society, cover three hundred and one small pages and were published by Edwards & Broughton of Raleigh, N. C.

Somewhat along the same line, but for younger readers, comes a little book, written by Supt. W. C. Allen of the Waynesville schools. This is called "North Carolina History Stories," and contains two hundred pages. Many of our schools are using this book as a text-book, and I trust that it may be the means of awakening a love of State history in our children.

Mr. D. A. Tompkins of Charlotte has published four or five valuable technical works in the past two or three years. Among these is a large volume of four hundred and ninety-four pages on "Cotton and Cotton Oil." Several chapters of this book are devoted to historical matter. Chapter II, for

example, discusses the introduction of the cotton plant into America and the influence of the cultivation of the plant upon slavery; Chapter III is devoted to an account of how cotton was prepared for the market by slave labor; Chapter IV contains a vivid picture of the organization and social and industrial life of the plantation before the Civil War. Mr. Tompkins is his own publisher.

Mr. James O. Carr, of the Wilmington bar, edited and published a little volume of the letters of William Dickson. These old letters give interesting glimpses of North Carolina in the early days.

Prof. C. L. Raper of the State University is the author of "North Carolina: A Royal Province." This is an octavo volume of seventy-three pages from the presses of the University. It discusses the government under the Crown, the Council, the Lower House, the conflict between the executive and the legislative branches. Professor Raper has also revised the first edition of his "Church and Private Schools of North Carolina."

The rare success of the *North Carolina Booklet* was one of the noteworthy features of the year. Its publication was doubtfully but bravely undertaken by the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution. These ladies were singularly happy in the selection of their editors, Mrs. Hubert Haywood and Miss Martha H. Haywood, whose unflagging energy and business tact ran its monthly edition up to six hundred copies. This little magazine presented from May, 1901, to May, 1902, twelve single booklets on North Carolina history. These books varied in size from Dr. Creecy's seven-page one on "Betsy Dowdy's Ride," to James Sprunt's vivid one-hundred-and-twelve-page booklet—or rather book—on "Tales of the Cape Fear Blockade." *The Booklet* has started upon its second year and every one hopes that it may grow in length of days and extent of usefulness.

The James Sprunt monographs of State history under the supervision of that distinguished veteran in patriotic work,

Dr. Kemp P. Battle, are commendable additions to our historical literature. So far three of these monographs have been issued.

Mr. Moses N. Amis of Raleigh has put much useful information in a little book called "Historic Raleigh."

III. HISTORICAL PAMPHLETS PRINTED DURING 1902.

The Guilford Battle-Ground Company printed Mr. Thomas M. Pittman's address on Nathaniel Macon. This pamphlet contains nineteen pages.

Mr. D. A. Tompkins printed a fifty-three page pamphlet on the "Cotton Gin: The History of Its Invention." This contains drawings and specifications of the original gin, photographs of many old documents connected with the issuing of letters patent and the suits that arose over the patents. It is an elaborate study of first-hand material.

Miss Adelaide L. Fries issued a thirty-three page historical sketch of Salem Female Academy.

Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood contributed an address on "Col. Edward Buncombe." This was delivered before the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, and was published by that body.

Under the title of "Old Brunswick Pilgrimages," the Society of Colonial Dames printed in 1901 a beautiful pamphlet containing four addresses delivered at the ruins of St. Philip's Church. These addresses are as follows: "Early Explorers of the Cape Fear," by Alfred Moore Waddell; "Old Brunswick," by James Sprunt; "Defense of Fort Anderson," by E. S. Martin; "Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington," by James Sprunt.

Now, in conclusion, a practical question: What can we do to foster this new literature? I offer these two suggestions:

First, buy and pay cash for each worthy book written by a North Carolinian.

Second, read these books and commend them to others.

FOR THE YEAR 1903.*

R. F. BEASLEY.

No doubt many of the men who are furnishing the country with reading matter from Boston and New York sought those places from poor and remote communities, like North Carolina. The people of such communities haven't yet had the time to sow the seeds of fancy and gather the harvest of literature; they haven't gotten far enough away from the bread-and-butter problem. Before the war we had an ecclesiastical and a political literature as a product of the times; since the war, the great date of recuperation in the South, we have been bound Ixion-like to the wheel of toil. We haven't yet been able to give our children a primary school education. The luxuries of life can be thought of only after the necessities have been attended to. But we are beginning now to free ourselves from the ligaments that bind us down, and so we are having more men who write books—not the best books, to be sure, for could they write them they would leave us; but the quality must get better as more conducive conditions exist.

Now, I would not have any of my remarks construed into any discouragement or want of appreciation of any of those who are doing all in their power to give North Carolina a creditable display in the catalogue of books. Every year shows some really creditable work. The present year is probably ahead of the last, and counting natives, both resident and non-resident, 1903 comes up with a good record. There is the usual presence of the historical—much of it creditable, all of it valuable for future reference, and for the purpose of teaching the State's history to the present generation, one of the objects of this Society. In the very short time allotted me I have not been able to make a complete

*Read at the fourth annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association.

list of the publications of the year, and can therefore make mention only of some of the most conspicuous.

Lawson's book of observations, called the first history of North Carolina, has been transcribed from the copy in the State Library by Col. F. A. Olds of Raleigh, and after being published serially in the *Charlotte Observer*, has been issued in durable and attractive form by that paper and put upon the market at the price of two dollars.

Maj. W. A. Graham is publishing an extended biography of General Joseph Graham, and it is sure to be a very valuable book.

Mr. D. A. Tompkins, like the farmer in the fable, having tried in vain to get some one else to write the history of Mecklenburg, has done it himself, and we may be sure that it is well done. It is very encouraging to see a man immersed, as Mr. Tompkins is, in large and varied business enterprises, turn aside to write a book, and one of local history at that.

Mr. Frank Nash has issued a well-prepared booklet entitled "Historic Hillsboro."

Judge Clark has issued a new volume of the State Records.

Dr. Edwin Mims of Trinity College has been engaged by the well-known publishing house of Houghton, Mifflin & Co. to write a biography of Sidney Lanier for the series of "American Men of Letters."

The Neale Publishing Company of Washington has lately issued a volume called "Boner's Lyrics," which contains all the best work of the gifted North Carolina poet, the late John Henry Boner, whose death occurred this year.

Other poetical works of the year are: "Memorial Poems," by Mrs. E. M. Anderson. "Poems," by Dr. W. W. Bays. "Heart Songs," by Lila Ripley.

The same average reader referred to in the opening of this paper would be astonished at the suggestion that a number of text-books had this year been published by North Carolinians, some of which are likely to pass into wide use. But

such is the case. Dr. C. Alphonso Smith has issued an excellent English Grammar. A book of great importance.

"Agriculture for Beginners," prepared for the publishing house of Ginn & Co., by Professors Burkett, Stevens, and Hill, of the State Agricultural and Mechanical College. This book is designed especially for use in the public schools and is destined, if honestly taken up and thoroughly taught, to become a potent factor in revolutionizing the agricultural methods of the South, particularly North Carolina. It has already been adopted for the public schools of North Carolina and several other States, and so many as 3,000 copies have been sent to the Philippines.

Other text-books are: "Principles of Dyeing," by Dr. George S. Fraps.

"Foundation Stones of True Development," by Caroline Washburn Rockwood.

Of course no list of books by North Carolinians would be complete without mention of "The One Woman," by Tom Dixon. Dr. Dixon belongs to North Carolina, though he sees fit to dwell apart from us for a time. "The One Woman" is a literary crudity, but it has power. *The Review of Reviews* says that "the story is sensational and melodramatic; every color in it is flamboyant and every sound a scream, but it is powerful with elemental force." It may be added, also, that it sells.

Other books of varying character are "A Traitor, Yet True," an historical romance, by S. H. Thompson, now in the printer's hands; "Heaven on Earth," by A. C. Dixon, D. D.; "Studies in Christian Doctrine," Wilbur F. Tillett, D. D.; "Doctrines and Polity of the M. E. Church," W. F. Tillett, D. D.; "Parsifal," by Mary Narcissa McKinnon; "An Adirondack Romance," and "In Biscayne Bay," Caroline Washburn Rockwood; "Historical Sketch of the Shuford Family," by Rev. John Shuford, and "Social Life in Colonial North Carolina," C. L. Raper, in press of the Macmillans.

FOR THE YEAR 1904.*

D. H. HILL.

"Governor Tryon of North Carolina," by Marshall DeLancey Haywood of Raleigh; E. M. Uzzell, Raleigh, publisher; pages 225.

This is a handsomely illustrated and handsomely printed biography of the most conspicuous of the Royal Governors. The author bases his conclusions largely upon documentary evidence. In addition to the details of Governor Tryon's life, Mr. Haywood includes a careful study of the so-called War of the Regulators.

"Gen. Joseph Graham and His Revolutionary Papers," by Maj. William A. Graham of Lincoln County; Edwards & Broughton, Raleigh, printers; 385 pages.

Part I of Major Graham's volume is devoted to the life of General Graham and his family. New light is thrown upon Queen's College, the Mecklenburg Declaration, and the manufacturing of that day by the narrative. Part II includes, among others, papers furnished for Judge Murphey's projected history of North Carolina. The General's accounts of the battles of Ramseur's Mill, of Kings Mountain, of Cowpens, of Cowan's Ford, of Hart's Mill, Pyle's Massacre, and General Rutherford's campaign on the Cape Fear furnish much valuable material for future historians.

"North Carolina: A Study in English Colonial Government," by Charles Lee Raper, Acting Professor of Economics in the University of North Carolina; the Macmillan Company, New York, publishers; 268 pages.

Starting with a review of the Proprietary Period, Dr. Raper follows with chapters on the Governor, the Council, the Legislature under the Crown; also chapters on the territorial, the judicial, and the fiscal system of the colony; on

* Read at the fifth annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association.

the means of defense, the conflict between the Executive and the Lower House, and closes with the downfall of the Royal Government.

"Nathaniel Macon," by William E. Dodd, now Professor of History in Randolph-Macon College, formerly of Johnston County; Edwards & Broughton, printers; pages 443.

Along with a full account of the illustrious Macon's life, Dr. Dodd has woven a wealth of historic matter that has been collected with much care and industry from many widely scattered sources.

"The Philosophy of Education," by Herman Harrell Horne, formerly of Johnston County, now professor in Dartmouth College; the Macmillan Company, New York, publishers; 295 pages.

In eight chapters Dr. Horne discusses first the field of education, and then the biological, the physiological, the sociological, and the psychological aspects of education.

"A Year in Europe," by Rev. Dr. Walter W. Moore, formerly of Charlotte, now President of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.; Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond; 366 pages.

Dr. Moore has illustrated his volume handsomely with original photographs. His style is fresh and vital and his matter is unhackneyed and attention-catching.

"Four Princes," by Rev. James A. Scherer, now living in Charleston, S. C. This capitably printed volume of 275 pages is from the press of the Lippincotts of Philadelphia. The book is a study of Christianity through four of its representative heroes, Paul, Constantine, Bernard, and Luther.

"China's Business Methods and Policy," by T. R. Jernigan, formerly of Raleigh, now of Shanghai, China. This volume is from the Shanghai press of Kelly & Walsh and is well printed and bound. If we leave out books by missionaries, this is perhaps the first North Carolina book ever printed in China. It is a careful study of Chinese commercial and industrial life.

"History of Mecklenburg County," by D. A. Tompkins of Charlotte. The second volume of Mr. Tompkins' elaborate history of Mecklenburg is just from the *Observer* press. The book is in every way worthy of its subject. If some patriotic citizen would do for each of our older counties what Mr. Tompkins has done for his adopted county, our State would soon be rich in historic material.

"Life of Rev. C. A. Rose," of the Lutheran Church, by Rev. Dr. L. E. Busby of Salisbury. This is the biography of a friend and admirer.

Mr. James W. Albright has published a very complete handbook of the city of Greensboro. Amid much local history, this book contains some material of general interest.

Carlyle's "Essay on Burns" has been edited for the Gateway Series of Classics, published by the American Book Company of New York, by Prof. Edwin Mims of Trinity College, Durham. Dr. Mims has also in press a book of selections from the writings of Dr. Henry Van Dyke, and has also nearly ready a Life of Sidney Lanier.

"A Study of Quintus of Smyrna," by George Washington Paschall, Associate Professor of Latin in Wake Forest College. University of Chicago Press. The purpose of this book, the author states, is to give a comprehensive outline of the present state of our knowledge of the Posthomericæ.

"Carding and Spinning," by George F. Ivey of Hickory. This is a text-book meant for practical workers in carding and spinning. Mr. Ivey has previously written a book upon "Loom-fixing and Weaving."

"A New Definer," by M. C. and J. C. Pinnix of Oxford. This is also a text-book.

"*The North Carolina Booklet*," under the editorship of Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton and Mrs. E. E. Moffitt continued through the year its valuable contributions to history. This booklet ought to go to every home in North Carolina.

"The James Sprunt Monographs of History," ably supervised by Dr. Kemp P. Battle of the State University, are

first-hand studies of important events in the history of the State. Number 4 of this series has appeared during the past year. Dr. Battle has contributed an introduction to this number on the Early History of the Lower Cape Fear. Number 5 is now in the hands of the binders.

A number of pamphlets of historic value have appeared during the year, but these do not come within the province of this report.

In poetry, the most notable volume of the year is a new edition of the late John Henry Boner's poems with an introduction by Henry Jerome Stockard. This delightful little volume contains all of Mr. Boner's later poems as arranged by himself just before his death.

"The First Shearing" is the title of a volume of poems written by M. Battenham Lindsay of Asheville. It is from the Richmond press of Whittet & Shepperson and contains 399 pages.

"Poems" is the simple title of a dainty little volume of verses from the pen of Miss E. A. Lehman of Salem. This is published by the Grafton Company of New York.

Private Corporations in North Carolina—Thomas B. Womack, Raleigh.

Reprints of North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, with annotations and cases cited; 8 volumes—Chief Justice Walter Clark.

Manual of Odd Fellows, by Messrs. Charles M. and Perrin Busbee.

A Study of the Atom, or the Foundations of Chemistry—President Francis P. Venable.

The colored race is not without representation among the books of the year. G. Ellis Harris of Littleton has written a "Constitutional Reader," with the object of preparing the men of his race for suffrage by teaching them the rudiments of our State Constitution.

FOR THE YEAR 1905.*

D. H. HILL.

In presenting the subjoined report to the Society, it ought to be stated that I have tried by correspondence with college faculties, with editors, with publishers, and with men of letters over the State to make the report as complete as possible. If the names of any books have been omitted, the Society will be grateful if the authors will call attention to the omission. The list will be republished at a later date, and we should like to have in it the name of every book that has appeared for the past year.

For the sake of clearness I present the report under the following headings:

1. History; 2. Biography; 3. Fiction; 4. Poetry; 5. Technical Books; 6. Text-books; 7. Miscellaneous.

HISTORY.

I. "The Domestic Slave Trade of the Southern States," by W. H. Collins, Professor of History in Claremont College, Hickory, N. C. From the press of the Broadway Publishing Company, New York. This book contains seven chapters, as follows: 1. Rise of Slave Trade in Africa. 2. Causes of Domestic Slave Trade. 3. Amount and Extent of Slave Trade. 4. Were Some Negroes Engaged in Breeding and Rearing Negroes for Sale? 5. Kidnapping of Free Negroes. 6. Slave Prisons. 7. Laws of Southern States with Reference to Importation and Exportation of Slaves.

II. Some Neglected History of North Carolina, by William Edwards Fitch, now of Savannah, Georgia. Neale Publishing Company, New York; 307 pages.

III. "Young Japan," by James A. B. Scherer, now President of Newberry College. This book of 328 pages is pub-

* Read at the sixth annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association.

lished by J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia. It is divided into three sections. The first section is called "The Early Culture of Japan"; the second, the "Adolescence Period"; the third, "Modern Days."

IV. "The First North Carolina Reunion." This is a book of 128 pages, compiled by Mr. G. S. Bradshaw of Greensboro. It contains the speeches and addresses made at Greensboro's Home-coming Week, held during the past year. In addition to the addresses, the compiler has inserted other valuable historical matter.

V. *The North Carolina Booklet*, under the editorship of Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton and Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, has continued its useful and bright career. It is earnestly hoped that these patriotic ladies, who are so generously working to preserve what is best in our history, will receive the hearty support of all who love the State. The contents of *The Booklet* for the past year:

1. Some Changes in the North Carolina Coast: Prof. Collier Cobb.

2. The Highland Scotch Settlement: Judge James C. McRae.

3. The Scotch-Irish of North Carolina: Rev. A. J. McKelway.

4. Battle of Guilford Court-House: Maj. Joseph M. Morehead.

5. The German Palatines in North Carolina: Judge O. H. Allen.

6. Genesis of Wake County: Marshall DeLancey Haywood.

7. St. Paul's Church, Edenton: Dr. Richard Dillard.

8. North Carolina Signers of the Declaration of Independence: Mrs. Spier Whitaker.

9. History of the Capitol: Col. Charles Earl Johnson.

10. Some Notes on Colonial North Carolina: Hon. J. Bryan Grimes.

11. North Carolina Poets: Rev. Hight C. Moore.

VI. Secretary of State J. Bryan Grimes printed for the members of the Legislature an interesting little Handbook full of historical matter.

VII. "Incidents and Anecdotes," by Rev. R. H. Whitaker of Raleigh, 488 pages, published by Edwards & Broughton, has, in a popular form, some suggestive sketches of earlier life in the State.

VIII. "The Federalist System," by Dr. John S. Bassett of Trinity College. This is Volume 11 of a series of historical works edited by Professor Hart of Harvard, and published by Harper Brothers, New York.

IX. Trinity College has also published Series B of its Historical Studies.

X. "Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740," by Miss Adelaide L. Fries of Salem. Published by Edwards & Broughton.

XI. Chief Justice Walter Clark has edited Vols. XXIII, XXIV, and XXVI of the State Records.

BIOGRAPHY.

1. Prof. Edwin Mims of Trinity College has prepared a complete life of the greatest of Southern poets since Poe, Sidney Lanier. This volume, which is full and sympathetic, is published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., of Boston.

2. Professor Mims and others are editing a memorial volume of the best articles from the pen of the late I. E. Avery, one of the most gifted of the young writers of the State.

3. Marcus Benjamin of Washington City, not a native of the State, has issued a memorial and critical volume on the poems of John Henry Boner, one of the strongest of our native poets.

4. "Sketch of the Life of Dr. Edwin A. Alderman," by Dr. C. Alphonso Smith of the State University, appeared in the *University of Virginia Bulletin*.

5. Life of John Motley Morehead, also by Dr. Smith, has been completed just recently.

FICTION.

1. "The Clansman," a historical novel of Reconstruction Days, by Rev. Thomas Dixon, Jr., is the most important piece of fiction from any North Carolina author in recent times. The controversy that has raged around this story will no doubt lead to a closer and more critical study of this important period in the history of the Southern States. The author has in this book shown greater skill in the technique of the story-teller's art than in any of his previous writings. The book is from the press of Doubleday, Page & Co., of New York; hence both author and publisher are from our State.

2. "The Eyrie and Other Southern Stories," by Bettie Freshwater Pool, is a book of 108 pages, published by the Broadway Publishing Company of New York.

POETRY.

1. The most prolific writer of verse in the State is John Charles McNeill of the *Charlotte Observer*. Steadily during the past year he has contributed to the columns of his paper poem after poem. Some of these are marked by extreme cleverness, and it is hoped that he may soon collect into a volume the best of his poems.

2. Prof. Henry Jerome Stockard has contributed two poems during the past year. The first of these is the "Man With the Hoe: Another View." The second is "The Last Charge at Appomattox." The latter was read at the unveiling of the monument to the gallantry of our soldiers.

3. The dramatization of the "Clansman," by its author, Dr. Dixon, has been successfully accomplished, and the play is having an unusual measure of success before Southern audiences.

4. "Virginia Dare," a poem of colonial days, by Mr. W. H. Moore. Edwards & Broughton, publishers.

TECHNICAL BOOKS.

1. "Jurisdiction and Procedure in the United States Supreme Court" is the title of a volume of 1,005 pages by Hon. Hannis Taylor.

2. "Lex Scripta" is the title of a law book prepared by Mr. Samuel F. Mordecai. While this book was prepared primarily for the students of Mr. Mordecai's law school, it is of interest to all lawyers in practice.

3. Annotated Reprints of North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, 7 vols., Chief Justice Walter Clark.

TEXT-BOOKS.

1. From the press of B. F. Johnson Publishing Company of Richmond, Mr. E. S. Sheppe of Enfield has issued a two-book series on spelling.

2. The same company has published an English Grammar by Dr. C. A. Smith of the State University.

3. Ginn & Co., of Boston, have issued a new edition, with colored plates, of "Agriculture for Beginners."

4. Prof. William Cain of the University has published three text-books. These are: Theory of Steel-Concrete Arches and of Vaulted Structures; Practical Designing of Retaining Walls; A Brief Course in Calculus. D. Von NostRAND Company, publishers.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. "The Life Worth Living" is another book written during the year, by Rev. Thomas Dixon, Jr. This book, like his others, is printed by Doubleday, Page & Co., of New York.

2. "A Mother's Answer to Prayer," by Rev. P. H. Fleming of Burlington. Edwards & Broughton, publishers.

3. "Modern Mysticism," by Dr. J. B. Shearer of Davidson College.

THE WEEKS COLLECTION OF CAROLINIANA.

STEPHEN B. WEEKS.

"The real University is a collection of books."—CARLYLE.

"With the love of books in his heart no man is ever poor."

—LANGFORD.

"The more useless and unpopular a science is the more precious it is."—ARISTOTLE.

In undertaking to comply with the courteous request of the North Carolina Historical Commission for some account of my collection of books relating to the history of our State it is proper for me to crave pardon of the reader for what might seem at first sight unwarranted egotism and personality. But personal it must be if I am to treat the subject at all. I have been engaged in this delightful pastime for more than twenty years, and for the last fifteen there has probably never been a day when the Collection was not in my mind in some form or other. To it I have given moments of leisure; to it I have given days of toil; it has been with me from day to day, from year in to year out, and an account of it can not be other than personal. It is almost more than personal; it is to me as near a living, vital organism as it is possible for an inanimate thing to be. It is instinct with life, for its books represent the best thought that North Carolina has produced. It is a thing of beauty and a joy forever, and there is no wonder that it appeals to me with all the subtlety of affection that a sentient being might possess.

To give the history of this Collection is almost the same as writing my autobiography, for I have always been a collector. The collecting mania first appeared as a fancy for gathering the nicely polished and evenly cut ends of wood that fell from the work-bench of old Jonathan Duncan, the local wheelwright, in Pasquotank County thirty-five years ago. This is

the first form of the gentle madness which, like ambition, is an infirmity of noble minds, that possessed me. But I soon outgrew the stage of block collecting; not, however, till my uncle of blessed memory had given me many a proper lecture on the impropriety of carrying off such wooden odds and ends without so much as saying "By your leave, Mr. Duncan."

Perhaps the next stage was that of scrap-books. I could not give dates were they desirable, for I only remember that this mania seized me before my ninth year, superinduced by an aunt who was also mother, and who thought in this way to inspire in me a literary trend. The few country newspapers that were in reach, *The North Carolinian*, the extreme radical organ of Elizabeth City, published by Dr. Palemon John; *The Richmond Christian Advocate*, a stray copy of the *Toledo Blade* now and then, and such others as came to hand, were eagerly scanned and ruthlessly clipped for whatever took my childish fancy. I had not yet gotten to the useful stage of collecting. Perhaps every collector has to pass through what may be called the destructive stage, for, inexperienced and narrow of vision, he presumes to judge for all the world as well as himself, and as a result, if he has access to much material, destroys more than he saves. Such was my experience later when I first began collecting North Carolina materials. Twenty years ago I knew the State so well that I dared say what was useful for its history and threw the rest away. Now I am more humble.

But I am ahead of my story. After the scrap-book stage had become a part of my nature I turned my thoughts to botany; not that I knew aught of botany in a scientific sense, or even so much as knew that there was such a science. I took it in the simplest form—in the form in which it appealed to me in every-day life. I began by bringing together as many specimens as possible of the woods native to the section in which I lived (Pasquotank). These were prepared in a crude fashion by putting one end of the stick between the joints of a rail fence and then cutting it down to a certain

thickness with a drawing-knife; this tool and an old saw being the only scientific instruments in my laboratory. But they served my purpose passing well. I gathered all the varieties of trees and woody plants within reach, labeled them carefully and laid them away. When I visited neighboring counties I was awake to my opportunities and secured specimens of anything new; when my aunt went on a visit to Illinois she was charged to exert herself in my service, and in that way several specimens unknown to my part of North Carolina were added to my store. But I felt the need of knowledge; I wanted some guide, some manual, into which I might look when I had an unknown specimen in hand. Thus were my first ideas of botanical science evolved, for I had never so much as heard of a text-book on botany, nor did I know the word itself.

But this fad ceased to interest me, for I had exhausted the possibilities of my position, and, building on my dead self. I passed on to other hobbies. The next was newspapers. My desire was to get one copy of as many different papers as I possibly could, and while it lasted publishers were importuned for specimen copies and my friends and acquaintances made miserable with my begging for every stray newspaper that happened to add a new title to my collection.

I was then, and am now, in a dilettante way, a stamp collector. I can not assign that amiable weakness to any particular period, for it covers all; but I have had more control over this propensity than over others, for stamp collecting requires expert knowledge, much time and much money, and while I am always interested in a good collection of stamps, I have not had the disposition to go deeply into the matter for myself.

By the time that my newspaper fad had worn off I was ready to enter the University. Here I was introduced to the intellectual life more fully than I had been before. Having been always a lover of books, a voracious reader, an enthusiastic gatherer of everything that came in my way, and a buyer

as well for my means, I had still perhaps never seen more than 200 or 300 volumes in any single library in my life. Imagine, then, my feeling when on the first Saturday after my arrival on the Hill I was escorted to the fourth floor of the New East Building and was introduced to the five or six thousand volumes at that time belonging to the Philanthropic Society of the University. My awe and reverence were unspeakable; my joy unbounded, for I love to browse in a library, and it was here that I had my first real acquaintance with literature. This does not mean that I read overmuch in my undergraduate days. It was rather the reverse. I confined myself closely to text-books, and the reading was only as leisure allowed or necessity demanded. I have always questioned if this was not a mistake. I was working for grades, but the stuff learned in the text-books has long since passed into the limbo of forgotten things. Would the result have been better had I turned myself loose in the library and followed the bent of my nature? But this came later, for in my senior year I read Martin and Williamson, which I had discovered in the library only a few months before—so little was the history of our own State cultivated twenty-one years ago, the library committee of one of the societies of that institution even refusing to buy a North Carolina book! I made extensive notes on both, with an idea of using them in time.

Another matter that tended largely to develop my tastes along these lines was my appointment in 1884 as one of a committee to edit and publish a new edition of the Register of Members of the Philanthropic Society. Because of the natural inclination, perhaps, most of this work fell to me. I carried one of the old catalogues in my pocket and studied it as leisure afforded. It became a constant source of inspiration; the great men whose names it contained became, whether living or dead, my friends and companions. In them I lived over the history of the University and of the State, and learning something of each, I wished to know more. This introduced me, through my mas-

ter, the accomplished Doctor Battle—to whom the men who sat at his feet owe an unsurpassed example of kindly courtesy and gentle enthusiasm contagious in its intensity and ennobling in its influence—to the larger world of State celebrities as contained in Wheeler's History and his Reminiscences, which was then just appearing.

It would seem that my interest in the State's life came through the biography of her great men. It was personal; it was individual. The strong man appeals more to the youthful mind than does the event in which he acts his part. It is the actor and not the action which attracts; the individual, the person, the ego that compels attention. Certain it is that my interest was first aroused by studying the register of members of the Phi. Society and by following them up in Wheeler; and the first North Carolina book that I bought was M. H. Moore's *Pioneers of Methodism in Virginia and North Carolina*. I was acquainted with the author, and that lent additional charm to the reading, just as do the autograph letters with which I extra illustrate my books to-day. Moore's *Pioneers* I count as the cornerstone of my Collection, and the date of its acquisition is February 2, 1884. Not that I did not have items before that date which have since gone into the Collection; but because for some unknown reason that book and that date are irrevocably fixed in my mind as the turning point of all my subsequent work in this line.

While I was a student in the University the Collection grew very slowly. I had become a subscriber to the *North Carolina University Magazine* the first year I was in the institution and a little later began to chase after that dreadful bugaboo of the collector, "back numbers"; but I ruined many valuable copies of that and other magazines before I had cut my first teeth in collecting, for I tore the copies to pieces and saved a picture here and an article there and had these unrelated excerpts bound together in big volumes. I have known of public libraries that bound many separate pamphlets together: but I soon saw the folly of cutting and condemning and of

binding together unrelated items. Now I save all and bind every separate item separately. During these years also I contributed my first sheets to the history of the State in the shape of a Register of Members of the Philanthropic Society in 1886, and another edition, revised and enlarged, in 1887; together with the Minutes of the Y. M. C. A. Convention of North Carolina for 1886, 1887, and 1888, and a History of the Y. M. C. A. in the State in the latter year. These matters are mentioned because they have no little to do with developing a taste which was already keenly felt and which grew by what it fed upon. It happened, also, that during these years a number of State papers came to my hands. These were clipped so far as they had items of local historical interest; the clippings were carefully mounted, uniformly bound and indexed. I have ten volumes of this sort coming down to 1894. Since then the mass of clippings has become so great that I am simply appalled when I think of doing anything with them except letting them alone. It was as early as the summer of 1887 that I formed the idea of compiling a Bibliography of North Carolina, but I soon saw that if such a work was to be done it would first be necessary for me to gather the materials on which it was to be based.

It was thus my interest grew. When I went to the Johns Hopkins University in 1888 the work of collecting was suspended in part while I was acquiring a more thorough knowledge of history and of historical methods. The idea was dormant; it was not dead. The virus of collecting had taken too deep, too vital a hold on my nature to be shaken off. I did not try. I have tried only once in my life. That was just after I came to the Southwest. Then I concluded it was time to stop. I made a good resolve and stood by it for two weeks; then I saw a North Carolina item that I had never heard of before offered for 25 cents. I fell, and have never since made an effort to reform. When I went back to North Carolina in the summer of 1891 from the Johns Hopkins I had about 300 items on State history, mostly digested history

and including; Moore's Pioneers; Wheeler's History and his Reminiscences; Hawks's History; Schenck's North Carolina; Caruthers's Caldwell; Byrd's Dividing Line (1841); Vass's New Bern Presbyterian Church; Lawson's History (1860); Grimes's Letters; Draper's Kings Mountain; Bennett's Chronology; Burkhead's Centennial of Methodism; Dowd's Prominent Living North Carolinians; Debates in Convention of 1835; Moore's Roster; Colonial Records, and a number of historical, biographical, and university pamphlets. From that time my Collection has been insistent in season and out of season, in pleasure and in sorrow, in health and in sickness, at home and abroad, never ceasing, unending, always, everywhere, from everybody.

But this does not imply that at that time my knowledge of collecting was more than rudimentary, or that my sympathies were as wide as the State. I had been reared a Methodist and educated at the University; hence, I cared nothing for other denominations or other institutions. But I soon outgrew that idea. At that time I devoted my attention in collecting mainly to what I may call digested history rather than to the more important original sources. This phase of my mental development is well illustrated by my Bibliography of the Historical Literature of North Carolina, published in 1895. There are few references to sources in that work; it deals almost exclusively with the historical works written about the State and her citizens. But I came later to see that if the Collection was to be of the greatest value it must have newspapers, public documents of all kinds, journals of legislative, deliberative, and religious bodies—in a word, all that vast mass of original materials on which digested history is based. This brought me into the wide field of statute law, codes or revisals, and session laws; to the journals of the Houses of Assembly, the documents printed by the State, and the still larger mass, but far more scattered and difficult to obtain, printed by the United States and dealing with North Carolina in whole or in part, and to the journals or minutes

of the various organizations in the State. The next phase of development was that in which I reached out and included in my work all the writings of North Carolina citizens, regardless of their subject. Then came the last phase; that had to do with North Carolina imprints, and had been developed partly in my bibliography of the North Carolina press in the eighteenth century. I have only gradually come to realize that a book printed in North Carolina regardless of its contents is no less a part of the history of the State than is one which devotes itself entirely to that history or to the biography of her citizens. In fact, it stands for a phase of industrial life that nothing else can explain so well. Thus the imprint "Raleigh, 1805," to be found in the volume of sermons of Devereux Jarratt, the Virginia Episcopal evangelist of a hundred years ago, tells a tale of intellectual activity and business enterprise on the part of its publisher and of growth of the infant capital for which nothing else can be substituted. Further, most books written by natives or residents of the State are printed within its borders, and an extension of the scope of the Collection to include State imprints brings us visibly nearer to a complete list with no correspondingly great increase of labor.

It may be said here that a line must be drawn somewhere as to what may properly be counted as the productions of North Carolina authors. Should Thomas H. Benton be included, for instance, because he was born in the State, while his life was spent elsewhere? The uniform answer of bibliographers would be, No. The consensus of opinion on inclusion is that a State bibliography should include the works written while a resident of the State (or while still identified with the State, I should add), written about the State or its citizens, or published in the State; and these rules have been followed in this Collection. Thus Tom Dixon's *The One Woman* and his *The Life Worth Living* are included, while Benton's *Thirty Years' View* and his *Abridgment* are omitted.

Having thus traced my own mental growth in the matter of book collecting, it will be possible for me to give some account of the Collection itself, treating it under some of the great divisions to which the subject naturally lends itself. I shall undertake to mention a volume only now and then of the many in my hands, considering those of most intrinsic value or that are for any other reason particularly worthy of note. Only a detailed catalogue would suffice for them all, and that is not desired nor possible.

ASSOCIATION BOOKS.

Association books, or *livres de provenance*, as the French call them, is a term used to describe books which, however unimportant in themselves, are yet connected with the names of great men. Who, for instance, would not delight to hold in his hand the identical volume of tales read by Daniel Boone and his fellows when they were making their first settlements in Kentucky, and which is now in the library of Colonel Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville? In the same way the copy of Bradley's Treatise on Husbandry, now in my Collection, once the property of Edward Moseley and bearing his autograph and bookplate, brings us sensibly nearer to that patriot-statesman of colonial days—the best abused man in the colony, and certainly its most prominent and useful citizen. And is there not aroused a sympathetic chord with the past as we open Littleton's Defense of the Christian Revelation, once the property of Clement Hall, so far as known the first native of North Carolina to take holy orders and the first to publish a book, and see his name on the fly-leaf, written 154 years ago? Are not sentiments of patriotism and enthusiasm for colonial days excited when we can handle books once the property of Governor Gabriel Johnston (with bookplate), of John Hodgson, of James Hasell (with bookplate), of General Alexander Lillington, of James Iredell the elder, and of William Hooper, the signer? And if sentiments for the merely curious are aroused they may

be gratified by seeing the original commission of one of the predecessors of Mr. Secretary Grimes, in the person of Daniel Akehurst, commissioned February 8, 1692, as Secretary of that part of the province of Carolina north and east of Cape Fear River, bearing the autograph signatures and seals of the Lords Proprietors, including that of the gentle Quaker, John Archdale, whose memory we still lovingly cultivate while that of others is allowed to rot—a fate which most of them richly deserve.

INCUNABULA.

The world is always most interested in the beginnings of things. The North Carolina press dates from June 24, 1749, when James Davis, having set up his press in Newbern, entered upon his five-year contract to do printing for the colony. His very first issues were perhaps paper money; proclamations in the shape of broadsides and journals of the Assembly. But these have all perished, so far as known. In 1751 the first copies of Swann's Revisal, popularly known as the Yellow Jacket, were issued. The date of this publication has usually been given as 1752, and not until the Charlemagne Tower Collection of Colonial Laws came into possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, about 1890, was the existence of the 1751 issue known. But my own copy is older than the one in the Tower Collection. My copy ends with the laws for 1750. The other four known copies with the 1751 imprint all have the laws for June session, 1751, bound in. This is presumptive evidence that my copy was printed, bound, published, and sold before June, 1751. It is beyond doubt the oldest of all known copies, and it may possibly be the very first copy of what is certainly the first book issued by the first printer in North Carolina. Is not the possession of this book, the oldest monument of the North Carolina press, something in which any citizen might rejoice? I have three other imperfect copies of the Yellow Jacket. All lack the title, but one bears internal evidence

of being a 1751 issue. It was bound without the laws of June session, 1751; but failing in a purchaser, the two-page index was removed and the laws of 1751 were added. The Revisals of the statutes compiled by James Davis and published by him in 1764 and 1765 it has never been my good fortune to secure. Later revisals—Davis, 1773; Fredell, 1791, with various supplements; Martin, 1804, in one and two volumes; Potter, Taylor, and Yancey, 1821; Nash, Fredell, and Battle, 1837; Moore, 1855; Battle, 1873—are all present.

The earliest session laws I have are those for 1762, 1764, 1765, 1766, and 1774. The latter is represented twice—once as a supplement to Davis's Revisal of 1773 and once in a beautifully clean, untrimmed copy in separate form. Those for 1782 testify eloquently to the struggle which our forefathers were waging. They are printed on three sizes of paper, it being impossible to find enough paper to make all the pages of one size, even for the very small edition issued. The session laws for 1764 were printed by Andrew Steuart in Wilmington, "printer to the King"; and thereby hangs a pretty tale of struggle between power and privilege on one side and grim determination to reassert the inherent rights of Englishmen on the other. The tale is told here and there in the Colonial Records. I have gathered and connected the parts in my Press in North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century, and reprint the whole in my sketch of James Davis in the new Biographical History of North Carolina. From 1782, with the exception of perhaps a dozen years, my set of the session laws is complete to date and the lacunæ in the earlier years may be supplied in part from reprints and later editions. And I may add here that when Mr. Chief Justice Clark was compiling the colonial laws for the State Records he had to come to this Collection for at least one act of which a complete copy could be found nowhere else.

Another early imprint in the Collection is James Davis's Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace (Newbern,

1774). My copy lacks a leaf in the middle, but is the only one known to me. Martin's Justice (Newbern, 1791) is there, as is Haywood's Manual of 1800. One of the rarest of these early imprints is Martin's edition of the laws of 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1794, published in 1795. I have but a single copy, while I have two copies of his Private Acts (1794) and three of his British Statutes (1792). The educational side of the eighteenth century is represented by the only copy that I know of Henry Patillo's Geographical Catechism (Halifax, 1796). The early nineteenth century press is seen in Burkitt and Read's History of the Kehukee Baptist Association (Halifax: Abraham Hodge, 1803), which I believe to be the first historical book ever printed in the State. I have also Martin's Executors (Newbern, 1802) and his translation of Pothier on Obligations (1804), for it must be remembered that the first English publication of that great French book on law was made by François Xavier Martin in Newbern, N. C. Nor must I fail to mention the Abstract of Army Accounts, published about 1793, in a very limited edition; but five copies are known, four of them, including my own, being imperfect.

I have examples of eighteenth century work from the presses of James Davis of Newbern; of Thomas Davis, Newbern and Halifax; Arnett and Hodge, Newbern; F. X. Martin, Newbern; Hodge and Wills, Halifax; Hodge and Wills, Newbern; Hodge and Wills, Edenton; Abraham Hodge, Halifax, and Andrew Steuart, Wilmington. I have nothing from the Fayetteville, Hillsboro, Salisbury, and Raleigh presses of the eighteenth century. The earliest Raleigh imprint that I have is 1804—Matilda Berkely, the work of Mrs. Joseph Gales.

Up to the time of the publication of my Libraries and Literature in North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century, in 1896, I had discovered 153 separate North Carolina publications, 1749-1800. It is probable that a revision in the light of present knowledge would swell this list to more than 200

titles. I have between forty and fifty titles bearing a North Carolina imprint prior to 1800. They are in all stages of preservation, from the complete and beautiful Revisal of 1751 and the perfect session laws of 1774 to the four pages which is my all of the Revisal of 1765.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

Public documents I believe to be the least known, the least appreciated and most contemptuously regarded of all forms of literature. Their common occurrence, their bulk, the large size of the editions, their supposed dryness, the very abbreviation, "Pub. Docs.," by which both State and Federal publications are known in public libraries and book shops, their binding in full library sheep, the formidable appearance that long lines of uniform dress present, their relegation to the top shelves of the library, all tend to make them forbidding. The casual student never gets further than the title; the average reader shuns them with horror.

And yet no class of publications are of more value. This is the literature which comes closest to the people as a whole. The State is here, both author and subject; this is the State's autobiography. It is here only that we can see to the best advantage the activities of the people in their organic capacity; only here can we trace movements in education, the development of banks, the inception of canals, railroads, and the like. The documents of a city bear the same relation to it as do those of a State to their author. A city's documents include charter and city ordinances, reports of school boards, police, fire, engineers, water-works, etc. It is the business record of the city; it stands in the same relation to the city as the books of a company stand to their business. The people as individuals are vitally concerned in their own work as parts of an organic whole. No man may presume to call himself the historian of a people till he has studied long and carefully their laws and public documents. And yet no class of sources has been so frequently neglected.

My collection of the public documents of the State, including the laws and the journals of the two Houses of Assembly, is fairly complete since about 1840. Of earlier years I have only a few imperfect legislative journals; but more of public documents, including Treasurers' Reports, Murphey's Memoir on Internal Improvements (1819), and most of the reports and documents of the Board of Internal Improvements, 1818-1840, and of the Olmsted-Mitchell Geological Survey, 1824-1829. The publications of these two bodies are counted as the very beginnings of geological work in America, and Murphey's Memoir is the chief cornerstone.

The documents on education begin with Walker's report to the Assembly of 1816, which preceded Murphey's report by two days; includes Caldwell's Letters on Popular Education (Hillsboro, 1832, and not strictly a public document), and a complete set of the Wiley reports, those of the Reconstruction period and most of those of later days.

The later geological reports, Emmons, Kerr, and Holmes surveys, the various constitutional conventions and their documents, are present, but not all in complete sets. As I have said, my session laws are nearly complete since 1782.

When we come to a study of the documents of the United States the story is the same. The Federal Government has published hundreds of documents that concern North Carolina in whole or in part. They relate to almost every phase of her life-history, to her biography and even genealogy. They appear principally in the form of contested elections in Congress, in matters growing out of the Civil War, claims for damages. Indians, resolves of the State Legislature and of public bodies, speeches of members of Congress, education, internal revenue, coast survey matters, and above all, under heads connected with the river and harbor bill, many surveys of North Carolina water-courses have been ordered, and the reports made contain not only much material of value on the natural features of the State, but also on local commerce and history. As the State now does nothing in the way

of internal improvements, the Reports of the Chief of Engineers, U. S. A., furnish us practically a complete history of the work for the improvement of harbors and waterways in the State. The set of separates in my Collection from these Reports, starting in 1876, the time when separates were first issued, is believed to be complete. These are supplemented by many reports on surveys for the same period which are as complete as repeated applications to all offices having the matters in charge have been able to make them. The task of collecting any class of documents of the Federal Government is much greater than that for those of the State Government. The former are printed along with great numbers of similar documents for other States; great alertness and much reading of government catalogues is the price of their acquisition. The number of such documents in my hands is several hundreds at least; many are of *post-bellum* date; others go back to the thirties and forties and even earlier, and vary in size from a single page to a large volume.

CIVIL WAR AND CONFEDERATE IMPRINTS.

Another phase of this interesting work that has been found worth cultivating is the literature growing out of the Civil War and its aftermath, the darker days of Reconstruction, and the publications issued in the State during the Civil War period.

It is believed that the set of laws and public documents issued by the State during those years is fairly complete, including the proceedings and documents of the four conventions, 1861-'62, 1865-'66, 1868, 1875; the impeachment trial of Holden, in three volumes, together with a fourth volume, probably unique, consisting of the speeches excerpted from the body of the proceedings and bound into a single volume to the order of Josiah Turner, Jr., then public printer, with many of the preliminary documents, orders, reports, etc., leading up to the trial.

Edwards's Sketch of Macon represents what is believed to be about the only purely historical or biographical publication in the State during the war. Of the domestic literature growing out of the war, the histories of regiments, companies, commands, etc., with two or three exceptions, I have all publications of which I have knowledge, and particular efforts have been made to learn. I have also Scharf's Confederate Navy, Taylor's Blockade-Running, Hobart Pasha's Sketches, and others. The Federal side has not been forgotten and includes Conyngham's Sherman, Bowman's Sherman, Sherman's Official Report, his Memoirs, and Boynton's fierce and merciless review of the same; Haines' Letters from the 44th Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, which saw service in and around Newbern and Washington; all except one of the Narratives which concern North Carolina that have been published by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Historical Society of Providence, R. I.; Fox's Regimental Losses; Porter's Naval History; Gen. R. C. Hawkins's Assassination of Loyal North Carolinians (by G. E. Pickett); Woodbury's Burnside, Rev. W. G. Hawkins's Lunsford Lane and the second edition of Lane's Autobiography (1842); Colyer's Services of the Freed People (New York, 1864); Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies and Navies (incomplete); and many documents published by the Federal Government on matters growing out of the war.

In Confederate publications or imprints the Collection is very strong, and contains many besides those issued in North Carolina. Besides the laws, journals, and documents published by the State and already mentioned, I have a number of novels, and many school books which were prepared, published, and used during the war. The Collection contains Sterling and Campbell's Our Own Readers; Moore's Dixie Readers; Johnson's and Landers's Arithmetics; Moore's Geographies, the only ones published in the Confederacy; Smythe's and York's English Grammars; Craven's Bullion's English Grammar, while Bingham's Latin Grammar and

Cæsar stand alone in their field and represent the high-water mark of Confederate scholarship.

Nor must I forget Warren's Surgery and a mass of Confederate commissary and subsistence papers of various kinds and about 28 original company muster-rolls, some of them not found in Moore's Roster. These were discovered in a garret in Chapel Hill in the summer of 1891. The temperature was more than a hundred in that garret and the dust had accumulated for generations. I was in an oven, perspiring profusely, almost stifled with dirt and dust, which increased as every new item was brought to light; but I stuck to my task. It was too entertaining, too exhilarating to be deserted, and when I came down, hot and tired, wet and dirty, but happy, I had material essential to the history of the great war that can not be duplicated. The muster-rolls have been submitted to and copied by the War Department for its compilation of Confederate Rosters.

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

I believe that this part of the Collection can hold its own with other sections. The oldest volumes are *The North Carolina Star* (Raleigh, 1820), and *The Elizabeth City Star and Eastern North Carolina Intelligencer* (1826), although there are a few miscellaneous numbers of an earlier date. Then follows a complete copy of the first volume of the *Baptist Interpreter*, from which the *Biblical Recorder* was later evolved; 21 volumes of newspapers published in Raleigh, 1844-'56; many copies of the *Hillsboro Recorder* from about 1825; 201 copies of the *Daily Confederate* (Raleigh), April, 1864, to March, 1865; and some 100 miscellaneous issues of other North Carolina Civil War papers, mostly Raleigh; about 250 copies of Richmond war papers, principally the *Whig*; some 300 copies of the war numbers of the *Charleston Mercury*, and some 200 of the *Southern Fireside*. The set of *DeBow's Review* is far from complete, but that of the *South-*

ern Review (Charleston, 1828-'32) is entirely so; the *Southern Literary Messenger* lacks but two numbers; the *Farmer's Journal* (Vol. I, Bath, N. C., 1852), and some 16 numbers of the first two volumes of *The Arator* (1855-'56) are present. Wiley's *Common School Journal* (1856) is represented by its only number, while his *North Carolina Educational Journal* (1858-'64) is fairly complete. The post-bellum magazines, like *Land We Love, Our Living and Our Dead* (newspaper form not quite complete), *Southern Historical Monthly*, North Carolina Baptist Historical Society *Papers*, North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register, *Publications* Southern History Association, Southern Historical Society *Papers* (Richmond), to Vol. XIII, *Journal* Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society, *South Atlantic* (incomplete), *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville, Vols. IV-IX), and *North Carolina Booklet*, are complete except as indicated. *The North Carolina University Magazine* (1844-1906) is represented by what I am quite sure is the only complete set of that valuable college and historical publication in the world.

BIOGRAPHY AND GENEALOGY.

For reasons unknown to me the State has produced little of formal biography. Most dead men have to be content with a few lines in the daily press; a few, perhaps two or three a year, are honored with more extended notice in the shape of a pamphlet memorial; but I recall at this time Macon, Vance, and Craven as the only natives of the State and spending their lives in North Carolina who have been honored with formal biographies. I have made particular effort to secure all of the biographical pamphlet literature, and have met with great success. The Collection contains, besides pamphlets and the various memorial addresses delivered in the last twenty-five years, autobiographies of Travis, Jenkins, Barr, Joseph Thomas, and Howell; McRae's Iredell, Parton's Jackson, Hubbard's Davie, Caldwell's Greene, Johnson's Greene,

Caruthers's Caldwell, Reid's Life, the worthless Cotton's Macon, Edwards's Macon, Dodd's Macon, Dowd's Vance, Haywood's Tryon, and the Journal of Charles Osborne, native of Chatham and Quaker reformer, who was the first to demand immediate and universal emancipation. I have also the Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, a Guilford County Quaker, reputed president of the Underground Railroad, and the Life of Addison Coffin, another Guilford County Quaker, who was one of its earliest conductors. "Extracts from the Manuscript Writings" of Barnaby Nixon (Richmond, 1814) carry us back to the quieter days of Quakerism, while the Life of "Chicken" Stephens takes us to Reconstruction times and Caswell County and sets us to reading Fool's Errand by the South's keenest, most versatile, and bitterest critic.

Of collected biography, besides Wheeler's Reminiscences there is to be found Brant and Fuller's Cyclopædia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas (N. C. volume only), A. Davis Smith's Western North Carolina Historical and Biographical and the new and scholarly Biographical History of North Carolina, so far as published. This publication represents more ambitious plans and is pitched on a far higher plane than anything hitherto undertaken by us. It clothes its volumes in the best dress, tells the life-history of the best men in the State far better than has ever been attempted before and presents a goodly company worthy of emulation. I shall extend my set of these excellent and beautiful volumes from the original number to twenty or twenty-five by extra illustrating, inserting extra portraits, sketches, pictures, documents, and many autograph letters.

In genealogy the Collection is weak, for few genealogical studies have been published on the families of the State, and these are of recent years. I have Bailey, Craighead, Roulhac, Branson, two distinct families of Jones, Shuford, McAllister, and such short genealogies as are found in the general works dealing with history and biography.

GENERAL HISTORY, TOWN AND COUNTY HISTORY, AND MAPS.

All the general histories are present in some edition except Brickell. Lawson is represented by two editions (Raleigh, 1860; Charlotte, 1903), by his *Journal of a Thousand Miles Travel*, from the London edition of 1711, and by the German translation published in Hamburg, 1712—*Allerneuste Beschreibung der Provintz Carolina in West-Indien*—which was perhaps issued in connection with DeGraffenried's Swiss colonial project, and was certainly intended to boom settlement. Williamson and Martin are both represented by beautiful sets in the original boards and entirely uncut. Wheeler—almost a cornerstone of the Collection; Hawks, with all three editions of volume one, and Moore, take their proper places.

There are many books that deal with particular sections, like Hunter's *Western North Carolina*; or with counties, as Tompkins, Rumble, Fries, Stockard; or travels, as Smyth, Bartram, Michaux; or with particular denominations, like Foote, Bernheim, Chreitzberg, Burkhead, Burkitt and Read, Biggs, Hassell, Cheshire, Reichel, Clewell, Paris, Purefoy, Benedict, Delke, Logan, Gano, Ashplund (Southampton, Va., 1791), and many pamphlets on church history, church biography, and sermons, representing all denominations and all periods.

The minutes of the Methodist Conferences before the organization of the North Carolina Conference are there, as are many of the yearly minutes since the organization of that body. I have the journals for the first twelve years after the reorganization of the Diocese of North Carolina (1817-'29) and many of later date. The minutes of Presbyterian Synods and Baptist Associations, though eagerly chased, have to a large extent escaped my watchfulness.

The Revolution is represented by Jones's *Defence*, Goodloe's *Birth of the Republic*. Caruthers's *Incidents* (2 vols.), Tarleton's *Campaign* (1787), Mackenzie's *Strictures* (1787),

the Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy (2 vols.), the Cornwallis Correspondence (3 vols.), Ramsay's Revolution in South Carolina (2 vols.), Drayton's Memoirs (2 vols.), James's Marion, Garden's Anecdotes (1822-'28, 2 vols.), Lee's Memoirs, and his son's Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas, Johnson's Greene (2 vols.), and Fanning's Narrative (large paper).

I believe that I have nearly everything published in the way of town and county histories or historical sketches. I have gathered, also, many of the illustrated pamphlets issued by the railroads for advertising purposes. These contain much descriptive and illustrative material and include the Southern's large volume, *The Empire of the South*.

The separate maps are represented by Homans (1725), Wimble (1738), Hyrne (1749), Mackay (1760), Bellin (1762), Mouzon (1775), Romans (1776), Pocock (1777), Lewis (1795), Price and Strother (1808), Pierce (ca. 1856), and others; and by a number of coast charts, Civil War (Federal), county, and city maps.

POETRY AND NOVELS, SERMONS, AND MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

Under this head may be mentioned: Attempts at Rhyming by an Old-Field Teacher (Raleigh, 1837), a volume whose author I have tried without success to discover; both editions of Dr. Mangum's *Myrtle Leaves* (1858 and 1864); Hill's *Hesperus* (1861), believed to have been the first volume of poetry published in the Confederate States; Major Jep Joselyn's *Tarheel Tales in Vernacular Verse*, which seems to have been the product of one of Sherman's bummers and concerns North Carolina only in name; Rhodes's *Indian Gallows* (1846); Strong's *Francis Herbert*, copies of which were later in life bought and destroyed by the author; Jesse Jennett's *Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (Wilmington, 1807); *Wood Notes* (2 vols.); Hawks's *Poems* (1873); James Ephraim McGirt's *Avenging the Maine*; and Miss

Peterson's Little Pansy, made famous by the enthusiastic homage of the *Charlotte Observer*.

The novels include F. X. Martin's translation from the French of Stephanie de Bourbon (Newbern, 1801); Mrs. Joseph Gales' Matilda Berkely (Raleigh, 1804); Judge Strange's Eoneguske (2 vols., Washington, 1839), which deals with the Cherokees and is said to have damaged him politically, and others of later date.

Sermon literature is represented by Patillo (Wilmington, Del.(?), 1788), Forster (1821), McIver's Southern Preacher (1824), Buxton (1852), Ravenscroft, Ives (1844), Branson's North Carolina Sermons (3 vols.), Skinner (1894), and many single sermons by men who never rose to the dignity of publishing a volume.

The domestic literature of our State has taken largely the form of history, biography, poetry, and novels. Besides those already mentioned, I may make brief note of what is perhaps the completest set of the annual, general, and society catalogues and of the various addresses of the University of North Carolina, a small number of separate portraits of North Carolinians, and in addition: Caldwell's Geometry; Guion's curious and very entertaining book, The Comet; Bingham's English Grammar, prepared during the war, but not published till afterward; Essays on Agriculture and Rural Affairs (1818), by an author whose identity, like him of the Attempts at Rhyming, has eluded all my efforts at identification; Shep. Dugger's jumble of rhetoric and bathos, called Balsam Groves of the Grandfather Mountain; Sawyer's comedy, Blackbeard (1824); both editions of the Selections from the Writings and Speeches of Thomas L. Clingman—the only North Carolinian, I believe, to publish such a collection; complete and unmutilated copies of the two Fraud Commissions; the Military Trial of the Murderers of Archibald Beebee (Tolar-McRae); numerous State, county, and town directories; three editions of Helper's Impending Crisis and his anti-negro books of later date;

three or four books written by negroes; Mrs. Mason's Wreath from the Woods of Carolina; a complete set in mounted form of Sprunt's A Colonial Plantation and his What Ship is That? which appeared in weekly instalments in the *Southport Leader* some thirteen years ago; Pettigrew's Spain and the Spaniards (1861); Williamson on Climate (1811), which served as an introduction to his History of North Carolina; many almanacs, beginning with Hodge and Boylan's for 1801; the life of "Beau" Hickman, the Warren County deadbeat; a contemporary account of Nat Turner's insurrection, with a horrible frontispiece; an edition of Locke's Fundamental Constitutions printed in 1720 (London); many speeches delivered at various times and places by various individuals; the extensive Prefatory Notes to the ten volumes of the Colonial Records written by Colonel Saunders, paged continuously and bound into a single volume, forming a very valuable book on the history of the colony and unpublished in this form; and what is perhaps the only case on record where a North Carolina author has had a single volume printed under three distinct titles and two of them in a foreign country, for Wiley's Old Dan Tucker (London, ca. 1851), his Utopia; an Early Picture of Life at the South (London, ca. 1853), and his Roanoke (Philadelphia, v. d.) are all the same book.

MANUSCRIPTS, AUTOGRAPHS, AND RELICS.

The division of manuscripts and autographs will compare favorably with other sections. It includes many manuscripts, in part original, in part copies, of material relating to the career of Gen. Joseph Martin and dealing with the Cherokees and the winning of Tennessee to civilization, most of which have been recently published by myself. I have an account book kept in Wilmington in 1767; all of the correspondence of Willie P. Mangum, United States Senator and President of the United States Senate, with autograph letters from many men of his day prominent in the State and

Nation, including Badger, Brown, Branch, Battle, Gaston, Graham, T. J. Green, Hoke, W. H. Haywood, Morehead, Edward Stanly, Governor Owen, Macon, Yancey, and others. Of national characters from other States there are letters from John Tyler, Buchanan, A. H. Stephens, Joseph E. Johnston, J. Watson Webb, Scott, William R. King, Clay, Benton, Calhoun, Reverdy Johnson, John Bell, Lewis Cass, and one from Lincoln in which he asks Mangum's assistance in getting the commissionership of the General Land Office. I have also a part of the correspondence of Calvin H. Wiley, with several letters from Gen. D. H. Hill, Jonathan Worth, W. W. Holden, and others of his time; the correspondence of D. R. Goodloe, with Greeley's scrawl, which is after all quite plain compared with that of some other folks I know; letters from Sumner, Chase, Seward, and many from Sunset Cox, for whom Goodloe wrote that part of his *Three Decades of Federal Legislation* which deals with Reconstruction. I have also Goodloe's manuscript history opposing the authenticity of the 20th May Declaration of Independence and those parts of his history of Reconstruction not used by Cox. I have the *Journal of Jeremiah Norman*, Methodist pioneer in southeastern North Carolina a hundred years ago; Wood's manuscript *History of Methodism in the Yadkin Valley*, as well as the unprinted parts of Doub's *History of Methodism in North Carolina*, and a part of the correspondence of Willie P. Mangum, Jr., long United States consul in China and Japan.

The relics, as such, are few, but they include an iron hatchet of antique pattern dug up on the site of old Fort Raleigh on Roanoke Island in 1862. Its history is authentic, for I received the hatchet from the late William J. Griffin of Elizabeth City, who got it from Dough (?), by whom it was found. The late G. Brown Goode of the Smithsonian Institution believed that it was of sixteenth century workmanship.

CONCLUSION.

As every collector well knows, it is exceedingly difficult to draw rigid lines of demarcation on what shall be called a North Carolina book and what not. In endeavoring to solve this question, I have interpreted the term "North Carolina literature" liberally and have included many items like Haywood's *Tennessee* (1891), Ramsey's *Tennessee*, Ramsay's *Revolution in South Carolina*, Gibbes's *Documents*, Gregg's *Old Cheraws*, Carroll's *Collections*, Hewatt's *Rise and Progress of South Carolina and Georgia*, and even Major Hanger's *Life and Adventures*, in the Collection, for the reason that my experience has uniformly been that in writing an author will use more books than would appear to a casual observer as proper to go into a formal bibliography of that subject, and my purpose has been to form first of all a working Collection out of which I may prepare a bibliography not only full, but because of its range and comprehensiveness capable of furnishing isolated facts and local color. I have many other books dealing with various phases of Southern history which seem just beyond the bounds of North Carolina literature, even when that term is liberally interpreted, but which, nevertheless, are of value to the State student, such as the collections of the Virginia Historical Society, Burk's *Virginia* (4 vols.), some of the *American Archives and State Papers*, Hotten's *Lists*, *Bulletins of Bureau of Rolls and Library*, *Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*, *Collections South Carolina Historical Society* (3 vols.), Ramsay's *South Carolina* (2 vols., 1809), Mills' *Statistics*, and the histories of education in the various Southern States.

Of seventeenth century imprints, like Hilton, Horne, Wilson, Lederer, Ash, I have not one; but they are all present in the form of reprints; which for all practical purposes are as good, and in some cases even better. The oldest item is Lawson's *Journal of a Thousand Miles Travel* (London, 1711). The newest was received yesterday. The Collection repre-

sents four languages: The exceedingly rare and valuable Walter's *Flora Caroliniana* (London, 1788) is in Latin, and of this I know of but two copies in America; the *Lawson of Hamburg* (1712) and *Muclinen's Christoph von Graffenried* are in German; *Laboulaye's Histoire des Etats-Unis*, which contains an illuminating analysis of Locke's *Fundamental Constitutions*, and some other items, are in French. I know of at least one item in Spanish—a book on Masonry.

My purpose in making this Collection has been manifold. I wished to make first of all a working Collection of *Caroliniana* for my own use in my North Carolina studies in general and for use in compiling my *Bibliography of North Carolina* in particular. In this I have met with success—such success that an exhaustive study of many phases of the State's history can not be made without consulting this Collection. Then the Collection has increased my knowledge amazingly and has afforded me infinite pleasure. But do not think that it has come for the asking. I have had to pay a price: much study, continued alertness, and great reading. During the last three years, 1903, 1904, and 1905, I have read by actual count 71,289 pages of book catalogues, mostly of old or second-hand books, or an average of 23,763 pages per year; and this is not above the average for the last fifteen years. I have many hundreds of cards alphabetically arranged with manuscript notes or mounted clippings which relate to books that are known or believed to contain materials on North Carolina, but which I have never seen. The cards are eliminated as soon as the title in question comes to hand; but still the unknown quantities grow, for as my knowledge of the subject increases I but increase the surrounding circle of darkness.

My aim is to secure every book, pamphlet, or magazine article that in whole or to any considerable extent concerns North Carolina, North Carolinians, or their work. Twenty-two years of labor have accumulated some 3,300 items; but this is perhaps not over half that can with propriety be

included in a bibliography of the State. In my Bibliography of the Historical Literature of North Carolina, published in 1895, I gave 1,491 titles, mostly digested history; of these I had at that time 863 titles; in 1900 I had about 1,200 of them; since then I have secured of those titles perhaps only twenty or thirty more, for they have risen in price, become much scarcer, and are lost in the greater mass of material now appearing as a result of the historical and intellectual awakening of the last ten years.

Nor have many of these items come to me except through personal solicitation. I have written much and printed long lists of wants. It is probable that my set of the North Carolina University Magazine alone cost me a thousand personal letters. I have searched many garrets, cellars, and outhouses. One of my most important finds was made just in time to save the stuff from destruction. The house was being repaired. The stuff had been gathered into a single room and condemned. Some of it had been actually carried off and put to base uses. The subsequent fortune of the remainder may be easily guessed when I say that I found among this material North Carolina session laws dating to 1782, the Abstract of Army Accounts, and my own great, great, great grandfather's autograph.

The value of such a Collection is further enhanced when it is remembered that a very large number of the items are mere pamphlets of twenty to sixty pages; that they are printed, not published; that they are rarely sold, never get into the book markets and seldom into public libraries; that they are printed in very limited editions, distributed unbound to friends, and from the indifference and contempt to which "pamphlets," one of the most valuable sources of contemporary history, are usually subjected, soon perish. To the generation that produces them such publications are trash; to the next they are priceless. The counties, the State, the Nation, the bookselling world have been searched for these ephemera. The Collection is weakest in those books which

by reason of publication or the general subject covered are best known and most widely distributed, like Catesby, Adair, Hutchins, Stedman, Brickell, the early editions of Lawson, and similar works. It is strongest in local imprints, pamphlets, and ephemera.

There are three other valuable Collections of North Carolina books in private hands, those of Mr. F. A. Sondley of Asheville, of Mr. H. R. Scott of Reidsville, and of Mr. Thomas M. Pittman of Henderson. The first two I have never seen. Pittman's Collection I saw ten years ago. It was then very valuable and contained the Revisal of 1765, much coveted by myself. With his keen historical sense, wide knowledge, and well-known enthusiasm, the owner has no doubt added much in number and value. Were these four private Collections brought together as a part of the State Library North Carolina would have, with what she now possesses in the form of newspapers and public documents, a mass of material beyond the rivalry of future collectors and in fullness perhaps unsurpassed by any similar Collection in other States. Of the valuable Collection formed by Dr. Dred Peacock, and to which I contributed many duplicates, I have heard nothing since it passed out of his hands.

I have written this account of what many call a foolish fad, not simply because the Historical Commission has requested it, but because in this way I hope to interest others in the profitable and educating pastime of book collecting—an unending source of pleasure which may be had for the price of three good cigars per day, and one so full of exhilarating fascination that some one has wittily said it “adds a new pang to death.”

It is unnecessary to point out to an educated person the value of such a Collection as my own, even in private hands, to the State as a whole. We have long complained that our history has been either mis-written or not written at all. The fault is our own, for students have been and are still hampered in finding material which they know to exist.

History can not be written apart from great libraries, and the first step towards such libraries is the personal enthusiasm, the exuberant, overflowing abandon that characterized the great collectors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when they went in their search for the lost treasures of the ancients from one monastery to another and brought to light from many a hidden corner the literary wealth of the Greeks and Romans. These wandering scholars were also called simpletons, enthusiasts, fanatics; but they gave to posterity priceless manuscripts of which an earlier generation had never dreamed; and from their work came the Renaissance—the mother in turn of the Reformation, the Revolutions, and modern life.

We need to have reproduced in North Carolina to-day, *mutatis mutandis*, the enthusiasm of those wandering scholars. Public libraries, some aided by Carnegie funds, some by city and private funds; school libraries, aided by State, county, and private funds, are rising slowly in various parts of the State. Let the librarian of each collect all possible items that concern North Carolina or her citizens; let her strive to get some of the general histories, like Williamson, Martin, Wheeler, Hawks, and Moore. While these are all poor, they are better than nothing; they may inspire a love for the past and so lead to better things. Let her try by all means to buy such books, new or old, as relate to her city, county, section; let her talk about these books, show them to the patrons of her library and get them read. When we get to be a reading people we shall not be satisfied with what has been done; we shall then demand better things, and when the demand comes men will arise to build better than has been.

SAN CARLOS INDIAN RESERVATION,
SAN CARLOS, ARIZONA.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

R. D. W. CONNOR,

Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

The scope of Biographical History of North Carolina is so broad that it is intended to contain some account of every historical incident in the life of our people; and this is done in biographies, so that a personal flavor is imparted to the narrative and we are made acquainted with the actors.

The name of Capt. Samuel A. Ashe, as editor of the work, is sufficient to attest its high merit. Captain Ashe has for many years been a close student of the history of North Carolina. A member of a family distinguished in both the military and civil history of the State, he has himself rendered service in both worthy of the high rank taken by his colonial and revolutionary forefathers. He brings, therefore, to his task a preparation that insures its historical accuracy and completeness; a critical judgment that puts truth above sentiment; and a loyalty to the State that tempers criticism with affection and honest pride and takes away its sting.

As yet but six volumes have been published. The series will extend to ten volumes. Each volume contains about eighty sketches, of which one-half are of men belonging to former generations, the other half of men who are making history in North Carolina to-day—captains of industry, educators, financiers, statesmen, divines, who have attained eminence in their respective fields of labor.

In the fourth volume is a short biography of Sir Walter Raleigh, in which stress is laid on Queen Elizabeth's purpose "to do him good" because of the services near her person of some of his kindred. In pushing the fortunes of young Raleigh she was but paying a debt of gratitude.

That sketch is followed by some account of the Lost Colony, under the title of Virginia Dare, in which is collated all the information of the unfortunate colonists derived by the settlers at Jamestown from the Indians. From these accounts it would seem that the settlers of the Lost Colony, after White's departure, located on the mainland, north of the Roanoke River—on the highlands of Bertie County, perhaps near Avoca—and remained there at peace with the Indians for twenty years; but that on the arrival of the new colony at Jamestown, King Powhatan had them massacred; a few, however, escaping, among them "one Mayde"—perhaps Virginia Dare herself.

A very interesting sketch is that of the late Frank Coxe, whose ancestors owned Carolina, under the grant of King Charles the First—before the charter of the Lords Proprietors. As a settlement of their claims to Carolina, in a later generation, other lands in America were bestowed on the Coxe family.

The permanent settlement of Albemarle is treated of in the sketches of Durant, Drummond, John Harvey, Peter Cartet, George Catchmaid, the first Speaker of the Assembly, as far as is known, Colonel Jenkins, Samuel Stephens, the second Governor, etc., etc. It is thought that the first of these settlers began their clearings in 1659 or 1660, and such information as bears upon that point is collated; and the incidents of those first years are brought out as far as practicable. It would seem to be an error to suppose that the Indians gave no trouble, for they early had at least two Indian wars. So, also, it seems to be an erroneous supposition of some writers that these first settlers were Quakers fleeing from persecution. A dozen years passed after the settlement before the Quakers are observed among the inhabitants. Later that faith spread, perhaps because there were no ministers of any other denomination to serve the people.

In the above sketches, and those of Seth Sothell, Alexander Lillington, etc., the uprisings and revolutions in the Colony,

which have heretofore been veiled in obscurity, are traced to reasonable causes, and some order brought out of chaos.

A later period is covered in these volumes by sketches of Archdale, John Porter, Lawson, Gale, Hyde, Everard, Eden, Little, Maurice Moore, and others. The change in government to the Fundamental Constitution; the passing away of the peculiar features of Locke's cumbersome system; the Quaker oppression, the Cary administration; the Indian war, and the extension of settlement are dealt with in these biographies. Still later, the transfer to the Crown and its consequences are treated in sketches of Governor Burrington, John B. Ashe, and others; and the period when there was Royal rule is covered in the lives of James Murray, Innes, Hill, Dobbs, Eleazar Allen, the scholar and once Chief Justice, John Starkey, who made the first movement for public schools, and was denounced for his republican principles; Samuel Swann, the great speaker, etc., etc.

To the Stamp Act times and the Revolution, as they evolved many great characters, are given many biographies. Governor Tryon, John Ashe, Harnett, Harvey, Caswell, Sam Johnston, Hewes, General Moore, General Nash, Lillington, Harrington, Simpson, Gregory, Davidson, Colonel Kenan, Governor Burke, General Butler, Benjamin Cleveland, Colonel Clark, David Fanning, Colonel Hamilton, the Tory, Colonel Tom Polk, General Griffith Rutherford, General Sumner, General Brown, General Davie, and others. Particularly the military movements of 1781, when the State, from Guilford to Brunswick and New Bern, was a scene of flagrant civil war and murderous carnage and desolation, have been traced with care and attention to detail. The Regulation is treated in sketches of Herman Husband, Rednap Howell, James Hunter, James Few, Edmund Fanning, and Judge John Williams; while the Mecklenburg Resolves of May, 1775, bring to the front the biographies of James Jack, who carried the document to the Continental Congress,

Ephraim Brevard, McKnitt Alexander, Abraham Alexander, and others.

Something about the framing of our State Constitution is found in the sketches of Thomas Jones, who reported the instrument from the committee, Samuel Johnston, Harnett, and others.

A later period brings to view Natt Macon and a whole bevy of statesmen who illustrated the annals of the State.

The War of 1812-'15 also comes in for a copious share of space. In the sketch of Senator David Stone the sentiments of those opposed to the war are voiced, while the sketch of William Hawkins, our State's "War Governor" of that period, will show the efforts—both political and military—which were used in carrying on the war. Another sketch is that of Col. Benjamin Forsyth, who was killed on the Canadian frontier in 1814, and for whom Forsyth County is named. Other soldiers of that war, whose sketches have been written, are Gen. Montfort Stokes, later Governor; Col. Andrew Joyner, Maj. W. A. Blount, Capt. James Iredell, Jr., afterwards Governor, etc.

Another interesting point in this work is that it contains a sketch of every North Carolinian for whom a county has been named—more than thirty in all—so the people of these counties will find accessible full information concerning the distinguished man for whom their county was named.

The controversy between the bench and the bar is lucidly given in the sketch of John Hay, the prime mover in the impeachment of the Judges in 1786. Other instructive sketches are those of all of the Chief Justices: Taylor, Ruffin, Pearson, Smith, of Andrew Jackson, Willis Alston, James C. Dobbin, William R. King, B. F. Moore, Edward Stanly, appointed Governor of the State by President Lincoln during the war; Thomas Bragg, Johnston Pettigrew, Judge William H. Battle, etc., etc.

The exploits of North Carolinians on the sea are exemplified by the sketches of the renowned Blakeley, the brilliant Maffitt, James Iredell Waddell, etc.

There are sketches of Judge Murphey, President Caldwell, Governor Swain, Dr. Mitchell, Calvin H. Wiley, Braxton Craven, Charles D. McIver, William Bingham, Charles E. Taylor, John H. Clewell, Edward Rondthaler, and others notably associated with the educational advancement of the State; and of Governor Morehead, Calvin Graves, Samuel F. Patterson, R. R. Bridgers, Col. A. B. Andrews, and others, eminent for their services in connection with internal improvements and the development of those transportation facilities which have contributed so greatly to the industrial progress and prosperity of our people. Editors, poets, literary characters, all receive attention; and the benefactors of the State, John Rex, William Peace, Stanhope Pullen, etc.

The rise of the Whig party, the controversy between the west and the east over representation in the Assembly, and the Convention of 1835, are all brought out in these and other sketches, of which that of Senator Mangum is one of the most instructive.

The War Between the States brought to North Carolina much glory, as it entailed boundless sorrows. There are fine sketches in these first volumes of General Hoke, General Grimes, General Barringer, General Cox, General Anderson, and many others who reflected undying honor on the State. For the period since the war, there are sketches of Governor Vance, Andrew Johnson, Governor Holden, Governor Worth, Governor Jarvis, and others; and particularly Reconstruction and Ku-Klux times are treated of in the biographies of Judge Tourgee, John W. Stephens, Judge Brooks, Josiah Turner, etc.; while that of Col. W. L. Saunders will perpetuate the great services of that dominant character in those eventful years.

Such is a brief outline of the historical cast of the work as exemplified in the first six volumes. In the remaining four

volumes other sketches will appear, covering, like these, the entire life of the people, from the first settlement of Albemarle till the present time. About one-half of each volume is devoted to men of this educational and industrial era, and many of their portraits adorn the volumes. To posterity the lives of these men will be of equal interest as those of the soldiers, jurists, and statesmen who gave tone to our annals before the awakening of this new life of our people.

A reference to the sketch of the lamented Mr. Hambley will serve to give point to this observation, no less than the sketches of Dr. Hufham and the other eminent characters of the present day. To each subject appropriate space has been accorded, dependent largely on the details of the life itself; and the sketches of the most important of our public men are full and complete. As being especially notable for their unusual merit and value, may be mentioned the biographies of Governor Vance, Governor Worth, Governor Holden, General Hoke, Judge Murphey, Macon, Caswell, John Ashe, Sam. Johnston, Andrew Johnson, Iredell, George Davis, Governor Morehead, Charles D. McIver, Senator Mangum, Judge Tourgee, and John W. Stephens; but really it seems invidious to particularize where all the sketches represent the best work of some of the best writers of the State. The result of their combined labors are volumes of great excellence—of equal merit with the historical productions of the best American authors. No other State in the Union can boast of any similar work of equal excellence. It remains only to say that the established reputation of the publisher as a book man insures that the mechanical execution is worthy of the matter. The setting is of a piece with the contents.

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